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STUDIES IN INDIAN HISTORY  
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No. 5

THE KADAMBA KULA



Talagunda. Pillar of Kākusthavarmma.

# THE KADAMBA KULA

A History of Ancient  
and Mediaeval Karnataka

6686

BY

George M. Moraes, M.A.

WITH A PREFACE BY

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St. Xavier's College, Bombay.*



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## KADAMBA KULA

(History of ancient & medieval  
Karnataka by

G. M. MORAES

## PREFACE

Four years ago I had the pleasure of forewording a little brochure written by the author of this work on the history of *Mangalore*, by which many expectations were roused among the Indian scholars about the author's future historical work. Today, when those expectations are fully realized in this history of *The Kadamba Kula*, I deem it a rare privilege to introduce him again to the students of Indian History.

The work of Mr. Moraes is of the greatest interest for the history of South India. The Kadamba Dynasty receives only a slight reference in the general histories of India; and has sometimes been regarded as of very little importance by authors not well acquainted with their history.

This work will show how important and how influential were the different branches of the Kadamba Kula, not only in Kaṇṇāṭaka but even in the whole of Dakṣiṇāpatha, and at times even in Āryavarta. They were early acknowledged as independent rulers of Kaṇṇāṭaka by the Pallavas, their former overlords. They allied themselves with the Gangas by family ties. They "roused the lotus beds" of the far off Imperial Guptas, as the Talagunda pillar inscription proudly records. The early Chalukya chieftains were their subordinates down to the time of Pulikēśi I. The enterprising Hoysaṇas of Mysore and the Paramāras of Malwa felt the strong arm of the Hāṅgal and Goa Kadambas in many a battle. In fact they are styled the right hand of the powerful Chalukya Emperor Vikramāditya VI; and the Kalyāṇi and Anahilwada Chalukyas were proud of their marriages with Kadamba princesses. And if we pass from the civil and political field to the field of culture and civilization, we shall find the Kadambas propagating education, fostering literature and commerce, creating a new style of architecture which is the basis of the style of the Hoysaṇas,

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and developing an original school of sculpture, which was the forerunner of that series of South Indian sculptors, whose masterpieces are still the wonder of tourists and art critics.

The work of Mr. Moraes is not only the history of the Kadamba family, but a complete history of western Kaṇṇāṭaka—which was called Kuntala in ancient Sanskrit literature—from the beginning of the fourth century down to the middle of the fourteenth century. During this long period of ten centuries there were ups and downs in the annals of the Kadamba Kula; and even once this family totally disappears from Kaṇṇāṭaka for three centuries. Mr. Moraes nevertheless has filled up the gaps in order to present a complete history of this period. He has divided his work in eight different parts corresponding to the eight different historical units which make up the history of the Kadambas. First he outlines the *pre-Kadamba history of Kuntala*, as a necessary background before staging the drama of the Kadamba family. Then he narrates the history of the *early Kadambas*, followed by the period in which we find the city of *Banavasi under foreign domination*. The history of the *Hāṅgal Kadambas* and of the *Goa Kadambas* is then separately given. This is followed by the account of the *minor Kadamba dynasties*, about which very scanty information has come down to us. But the most interesting portion of the book is that containing the *internal history* of the Kadamba period, where the civilization and culture of Kuntala is properly estimated. The study of *Kadamba Geography* constitutes the last part of Mr. Moraes's work. Three appendices follow: one on the *Kadamba lion*, the dynastic symbol of the family; the second on *Kadamba Coinage*, while the third contains the recently discovered and still unpublished inscriptions of the Kadamba monarchs used in the course of this history.

Such is the plan of Mr. Moraes's work. As regards his method and criticism the reader can easily judge for himself while reading the following pages.

The work was submitted as a thesis to obtain the degree of Master of Arts in the University of Bombay and is now published in the hope that it will be a credit to the University, and an encouragement to further studies in history under its high patronage.

H. Heras, S. J.

Bombay, January 1st, 1931.

## INTRODUCTION

The history of the Kadamba dynasty is the history of one of the most neglected, though in its own days one of the most influential, of the dynasties that ever held sway over the Dekkan. The origin of this royal line can be traced as far back as the fourth century of the Christian era, when during the confusion and chaos that followed in the wake of the southern expedition of Samudra Gupta, Mayuraśarmma, who was very probably a *daṇḍanāyaka* in the service of the Pallavas, asserted his independence. After Mayuraśarmma, there followed a succession of capable rulers who utilised their material and personal resources for augmenting the political influence of the family. In the 7th century however they were defeated and dispossessed of their kingdom by the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi, but towards the close of the 10th century they emerged again as *mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras* and continued to rule the various parts of the Dekkan and of the Konkan till the middle of the 14th century, when the various Kadamba kingdoms were absorbed in the newly founded Vijayanagara Empire.

In writing the history of this dynasty, I have met with unexpected difficulties. Judging from the great influence the Kadam-bas wielded and the fact that they held the field for over a thousand years, I expected to find a large number of copper-plates and lithic records of these rulers. But after consulting all the works on epigraphy and archaeology and going through all the journals, I had to be content with a handful of inscriptions. This was what actuated me to undertake a tour under the guidance of Rev. Fr. H. Heras, S. J. through the Districts of Belgaum, Dharwar and North Kanara, the State of Mysore and Goa, with the object of learning the topography of the countries ruled over by the Kadambas, to study the architecture of the temples built by them, and to search for new epigraphical records. A large number of Kadamba inscriptions were copied during this historical excursion and over 106 photographs of temples forts and coins were taken which enabled me to unravel the confusion made by previous au-

thors between the Kadamba style of architecture and the Hoysala and the Chalukya styles. The study of the Kadamba coins at the St. Xavier's College Indian Historical Research Institute, and at the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and a number of those collected during the tour was of great assistance to me in settling the chronology of many of these rulers.

I wish to acknowledge my deep indebtedness to Prof. K. G. Kundangar, Rajaram College, Kolhapur for the help he gave me so unstintingly by taking rubbings of inscriptions and deciphering them; to Sastri Bhavanishanker Sukhtanker, of our College staff, for the translation of the plates of Shashtha-dēva I and Jayakēśi I, and to Messrs. G. Bengeri and S. M. Karajgi of the Municipal High School, Hāveri, Dharwar District, for deciphering some inscriptions and sending transcriptions of others found by themselves. I am also thankful to my friend Mr. B. C. S. Sharma, M. A., for the help he has often rendered me while reading some of the inscriptions.

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PART I

**Historical Introduction**



## CHAPTER I

### Pre-Kadamba History of Kuntala

**T**he Kuntala country which probably included the western Dekkan and the north of Mysore<sup>1</sup>, has a history extending far into the early centuries before the Christian era. The Dēvagiri plates of the Kadamba king Kṛṣṇavarmma I, which connect his family with that of the Nāgas, obviously imply that the country was ruled by the latter in the beginning of historic times<sup>2</sup>. A few inscriptions of the 11th and the 12th centuries recount the tradition that the Nandas also held sway over this part of the Dekkan<sup>3</sup>. The conquest of this territory was very likely effected in the days of Bimbisara and Ajātaśatru and was maintained by their successors<sup>4</sup>. When however the Nanda dynasty was overthrown by the Mauryas, the Kuntala country passed into the latter's hands. Though there is no contemporary epigraphic evidence to corroborate this inference, the fact does not seem to be beyond probability. Indeed the Śravaṇa Belgōḷa inscriptions of a later period record the migration southwards to Mysore of Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty, in the company of the great Jaina preceptor Bhadrabāhu and the ending of their days at Śravaṇa-Belgōḷa. But this King did not come down as a conqueror, having in fact abdicated the throne in order to devote his last years to a life of prayer and solitude<sup>5</sup>. An inscription found in the Sorab taluqua has it that Nagarkhaṇḍa "was protected by the wise Chandragupta, an abode of the usages of eminent Kshatriyas"<sup>6</sup>. But this epigraph

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Sanscrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VII, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 225, 236.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 43.

<sup>5</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 1, 17, 54, 40, 108; *E. C.*, III, Sr, 147, 148.

<sup>6</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 263.

being of the 14th century, much importance cannot be attached to its evidence. More reliable information however is furnished by the edicts of Aśoka<sup>1</sup>; and their discovery near Sidhapur in the Mysore territory has established beyond doubt the fact that the Maurya Empire at this time extended over at least the northern parts of the Mahishamaṇḍala<sup>2</sup>. But Aśoka is not known to have led more than one expedition and that was into Kalinga. It follows from this that at the accession of Aśoka, the whole of the above territory except Kalinga was already in the possession of the Mauryas.

Aśoka died in 232 B. C. After his death the break-up of the Maurya Empire forthwith began; and in a short space of less than half a century, the final destruction was accomplished.

The scattered remnants of the Maurya Empire in the south were gathered together by the Śātavāhanas. There were many scions of this family ruling all over the Dekkan from which we conclude that they brought the whole of the country under their rule.

After the fall of this dynasty, the Chuṭu family became the masters of Kuntala. They often styled themselves the Śāta-vāhanas, and possibly claimed some relationship with them. The inscriptions of the Chuṭu dynasty are, next to the edicts of Aśoka, the oldest documents found in the north of Mysore<sup>3</sup>. The first of these at Malavalli, in the Shikarpur taluqua, is a grant by Hārīti-putra-Sātakarṇṇi, of the Mānavya-gotra and Vinhukaḍḍachuṭu family, King of Vijayanti, dated in the 2nd year of his reign. In this record the King issues orders to the mahāvallabham rajjukam, or the Chief Revenue Commissioner, that the village of Sahalātavi has been granted free of all imposts to Koṇḍamāṇa, son of Takiñchi, as a Brahman endowment, for the enjoyment of the *mat-tapatti* gods<sup>4</sup>. In Banavasi itself there is an inscription of apparently the same king, dated in the twelfth regnal year. The king bears in this record the same name as in the Malavalli grant, with the only difference that he is said to have belonged to the Vinhukaḍḍadutu family instead of Vishnukaḍḍachuṭu, which might lead us to conclude that the words *dutu* and *chuṭu* were synonymous<sup>5</sup>. The

<sup>1</sup> E. C., XI, Mk, 21, 14, 34.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, *Introd.*, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. E. C., VII, *Introd.*, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 263.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Jouveau Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 49. This difference may also be due to a mistake of the engraver.

inscription at Banavasi records that king Śātakarṇi had a daughter Mahābhōji Śivakhada-Nāgasīri (Sivaskanda-Nāgaśrī) who made the grant of a *nāga*, a tank and a vihāra <sup>1</sup>, perhaps to the original temple on the sight of which now stands the Madhukēśvara temple built in later times <sup>2</sup>. The slab containing the sculpture of the *nāga* with five heads is still to be seen on the northern side of the *prākāra* of the temple.

We may infer from the two inscriptions above referred to, that Vaijayanti (*i. e.*, Banavasi) was the capital of the kings of the Chuṭu family. This opinion is supported by the fact that this city is of great antiquity. We are told in the *Mahāvāṃsa* for example that the Buddhist teacher Rakkhita, was deputed to Banavasi in the third century B. C., shortly after the great council held at Pataliputra in the eighteenth year of Aśoka. Consequently, if Banavasi could be selected as a centre for preaching the gospel of Buddha, it must have been in a very flourishing condition, having evidently been founded much anterior to this date. It is not improbable that, Aśoka also sent his mahāmatras of morality to this city. For he says in his rock edicts: "Everywhere in my dominions the Yuktas the Rājūka and the Prādēśika shall set out on a complete tour throughout their charges every five years for this very purpose, viz. for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business" <sup>3</sup>. "The Lajūkas also who are occupied with many hundred thousands of men,—these too were ordered by me: 'In such and such manner exhort ye the people who are devoted to morality'" <sup>4</sup>. "For as one feels confident after having entrusted his child to an intelligent nurse, thinking, 'the intelligent nurse will be able to keep my child well', so the Lajūkas were appointed by me for the welfare and happiness of the country-people." <sup>5</sup> We have shown above that Kuntala formed part of the Empire of Aśoka. It is therefore natural that he sent his mahāmatras to Banavasi, which was presumably the capital of the southern provinces of the Empire.

King Śātavāhana of the Malavaḷli and the Banavasi inscriptions had probably a glorious reign; for even after a lapse of four centuries

<sup>1</sup> Buhler, *The Banavasi Inscription of Haritīputa-Salakamni*, I. A., XIV, p. 334.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Heras, *A Historical Tour in Search of Kadamba Documents*, J.B.H.S. II, p. 128.

<sup>3</sup> R. E., 3, c.

<sup>4</sup> R. E., 7, n.

<sup>5</sup> R. E., 4, l.

in the line of the Kadambas, they remembered his name. In fact the famous Talagunda inscription of the Kadambas mentions a Śiva temple in that town at which Śātakarṇṇi and other kings had formerly worshipped<sup>1</sup>.

The Śātavāhanas are often described as the Andhras and identified with the Andarai described by Ptolemy as a powerful nation, and also mentioned by Pliny<sup>2</sup>. But the *Purāṇas* appear to give them the appellation of Andhrabhrityas or the 'servants of the Andhras'<sup>3</sup>. Ptolemy also mentions Banavasi under the name of Banauasi, thus confirming the evidence of the epigraphical records that it was an important city<sup>4</sup>.

The Chuṭu-Śātavāhanas were succeeded by the Pallavas. This we conclude from the fact that the Kuntala country was acquired by Mayūraśarmma from the Pallavas, as narrated in the Talagunda inscription.

For the history of the Pallavas at this early period we are mainly dependent on the Prakrit and the Sanscrit records. Three sets of copper-plates written in the former characters disclose the names of Bappa-Dēva, Skandavarmma, and Vijayaskandavarmma. The Majidavolu record informs us that Boppa was the father of Śivas-kandavarmma<sup>5</sup>. We learn from the Hirehadagalli plates that Skandavarmma performed the *Aśvām'dha* or the horse-sacrifice, which may imply that his suzerainty was acknowledged by several kings<sup>6</sup>. This King was very probably succeeded by Vijayaskan-davarmma. All that we know about this sovereign is that his queen was named Chāru-Dēvi; and the heir-apparent to the throne was called Budhyankura, whose father is given the name of Vija-yaskandavarmma<sup>7</sup>. The latter is probably identical with Śivaskanda-varmma of the earlier charters<sup>8</sup>.

The next notable figure among the Pallava kings is Vishṇu-gopa, the contemporary of Samudra Gupta, who, according to the Allahabad pillar inscription, was defeated by the latter<sup>9</sup>. This brings us to the beginnings of the Kadamba dynasty.

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 176.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Wilson, *Vishnu Purana*, p. 473.

<sup>4</sup> Ptolemy, *Geographiæ Libri Octo*, Pl. XX, p. 124.

<sup>5</sup> E. I., VI, p. 84 ff.

<sup>6</sup> E. I., XIV, p. 153.

<sup>7</sup> E. I., VIII, p. 146.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Gopalan, *History of the Pallavas of Kanchi*, p. 39.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 13.

## CHAPTER II

### The Origin of the Kadamba Dynasty

**T**he origin of the Kadamba family is enveloped in the mist of legendary tales. It seems probable that when the Kadambas emerged in the 10th century from the political obscurity they had suffered for three hundred years, they completely lost sight of their historical origin. Consequently to account for the rise of the dynasty in the early days, they invented various legendary stories, representing the progenitor of their race as a demi-god. According to one of these tales, the Kadambas derived their descent from the three-eyed and four-armed Kadamba, who sprang into being from a drop of sweat that fell to the ground from the broad forehead of Śiva under a Kadamba tree. This Kadamba who was cultured, with pure and high learning, begot Mayūravarmma, the subduer of the earth by the power of his sword, of his own arm and of his invincible armour<sup>1</sup>. Another story goes that King Mayūravarmma was born to Rudra and the earth under the auspicious Kadamba tree. "As he was born with an eye in his forehead, the crown was not bound there as it would cover it up, but it was bound on him near his knee, where it would show well. As he grew up in the thick shade of a Kadamba tree, his family became the Kadamba family"<sup>2</sup>. The same strain is echoed in a Jaina endowment of the Kadambas; but in this record Mayūravarmma is described as a son (?) of the sister of the Jaina Tirthankara, Ananda Jinavṛtindra, born under the famous Kadamba tree. A kingdom, continues the inscription, was procured for him from Sāsana-Dēvi, and vast areas of forest land were cleared, presumably to bring this uncultivated land into cultivation<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 117.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., XI, Dg, 35.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb; 262.

These are the accounts we find in the inscriptions of the Hangal Kadambas. The mythical origin given in the Goa Kadamba records does not materially differ from that of the Hangal Kadamba inscriptions. Thus for instance some of the Halsi and Degamve śāsanas attribute the rise of the family to the three-eyed and four-armed Jayanta, otherwise called Trilōchana Kadamba or "the three-eyed Kadamba", who is said to have sprung from a drop of sweat that fell to the earth near the roots of a Kadamba tree from the forehead of the god Śiva after the conquest of the demon Tripura<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 236. It is interesting to note that the Pallava inscriptions mention a King named Trilochana Pallava as one of their most illustrious ancestors. He is also given the names of Trinetra or Trinayana Pallava, Mukkanti Pallava and Mukkanti Kaduvetti. Butterworth, *Nellore Inscriptions*, I, p. 389, II, p. 671. Cf. E. I., XI, p. 340. He is supposed to be the founder at least of the Telugu Pallavas (M. E. R., 1916, p. 138, No. 56), and is described as having a third eye in the forehead, like Śiva. Ibid. He is also said to have brought some Brahmans from Ahichchatra and have settled them east of Triparvata, where he found 70 agraharas. 109 and 110 of 1893 and 247 of 1897; M. E. R., 1908, pp. 82-83. This emigration of the Brahmans to the south is also commemorated in some later Kadamba inscriptions as being caused by Mayuravarmma; who after his retreat from Kanchi is reported to have settled at Triparvata. Cf. below pp. 11 and 13. Now all the Pallava inscriptions that speak of Trilochana are of the eleventh century. Prof. P. T. Srinivas Iyengar, in his *History of the Tamils*, p. 364, believes that he is "an actual King who ruled over tracts of the Telugu country"; and Prof. K. R. Subramania Iyer, *Ibid.*, p. 384, boldly states: "When a score of inscriptions, despite their late age, mention an ancient king with an extra eye we cannot brush them aside entirely as valueless". The number of inscriptions will never satisfy any impartial and sound criticism, unless there are other reasons for credibility. The fact that only the inscriptions of the eleventh century speak of this personage with an extra eye, who is supposed to have lived early in the fifth century (Cf. Srinivas Iyengar, *o. c.*, p. 386) makes one suspect that he is a purely mythical person. It is worth noticing nevertheless that Trilochana Kadamba makes his appearance in the epigraphical records more or less about the same time. Had these two legends a common origin or is one perhaps depending on the other? The fact that Trilochana Kadamba seems to be a mythical personification of the historical Mayuravarmma suggests that the story of the three-eyed hero had its origin in the west. The constant rivalry between the Kadambas and the Pallavas from the beginning of the former dynasty may perhaps explain how the story found its way to the east. Such a mythical origin of the dynasty from a Śiva-like hero was naturally envied by the Telugu Pallavas who had also declined much from the palmy days of the Pallavas of Kan.

An inscription of the Nagarkhanda Kadambas of the same period connects the Kadamba family with that of the Nandas. It states that king Nanda being without an heir, worshiped Śiva in the smiling Kailasa mountain for many days with the desire of obtaining a son. But as he knew that his request was not granted he was filled with distress; when as if to encourage him, some Kadamba flowers accidentally fell down as if plucked from the tree by an invisible hand. At the same time a heavenly voice assured him that two brilliant sons would be born to him under the name of the Kadamba-Kula, and enjoined that they should be instructed in the use of weapons<sup>1</sup>.

These legendary tales, it is obvious, throw little light on the historical origin of the Kadamba dynasty. However they make one fact quite evident, namely, that Mayūravarmma was the founder of the family, and that in spite of the wonderful accounts that have grown round his interesting person, he was an historical figure. Before producing contemporary epigraphical evidence to support this conclusion, we shall directly proceed to examine whether he was of indigenous or of northern origin, or in other words, whether he was a Dravidian or an Aryan.

There are many inscriptions of the Kadamba kings that seem to attribute a northern origin to the Kadambas. This is inferred from a remark in these records that Mayūravarmma, whom they claim as the progenitor of their race, established his might on the summits of the Mount Himavat<sup>2</sup>. But there is no contemporary evidence to support this view. A careful study of these records reveals the important fact that all the inscriptions that allude to the northern descent are of a later date, and that those of the early Kadambas contain no clues to warrant the above conclusion. On

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chipuram. The insertion of a similar personage in their pedigree could ostensibly raise the Pallavas to the level of their rivals, the Kadambas. On the other hand the preparation of this interpolation was not a difficult thing, since no historical documents were used for the formation of such pedigrees. Moreover once the name of Trilochana Pallava would be introduced, it would easily be copied from inscription to inscription without fear of any critical arguing against him. Thus the name of Trilochana seems to have passed from the Kadamba inscriptions of the west to the Pallava inscriptions of the east.

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Kadambas of Goa*, J. B. B. R. A. S., IX, pp. 245, 272, 285.

<sup>2</sup> E. I., XVI, pp. 354, 360.

the contrary they afford us definite proofs that the Kadambas were of purely indigenous origin. To begin with, the very name of the family suggests that they were the natives of the south. For the Kadamba tree is common only in the Dekkan<sup>1</sup>. Furthermore the Talagunda inscription of Śantivarmma, which is one of the oldest Kadamba records, tells us that the Kadambas were a Brahman family, and they acquired the name of Kadambas by tending a Kadamba tree that grew near their house<sup>2</sup>. If this is a plant, characteristic of the south, it follows that Mayūravarmma, who was evidently a later member of the family and who founded the royal line could not have come from the north. Moreover, the inscription of Krishṇavarmma I, which asserts that he was of Naga descent<sup>3</sup>, plainly indicates the indigenous origin of the family.

Another significant fact one notices whilst studying the Kadamba inscriptions, is that the pretension of northern descent was for the first time put forward in the 11th century of the Christian era. The earliest records to claim such a descent are the grants of the Kadamba king Harikēsari-Dēva dated in 1053<sup>4</sup>, and 1055<sup>5</sup>. This was followed by the śāsanas of Kirttivarmma of A. D. 1068<sup>6</sup>, and it was copied in all the inscriptions of the later kings.

It is evident from the records of the contemporary royal families of the Dekkan that they also claimed northern extraction at this period. Thus for instance it was for the first time in the 11th century that the Hoysaḷas, who were a purely Kaṇṇāṭaka dynasty, traced their descent from the Yādavas, who were norther-

<sup>1</sup> It is indigenous of Sikkim, N. Kanara, N. Circars, Cuddapah, and Kurnul. It certainly is not 'one of the palms from which toddy is extracted', as Mr. Rice would have us believe. (*Mysore Inscriptions*, p. xxxiii.) In Mr. Lushingham's *Vernacular List of Trees, Shrubs and Woody Climbers in the Madras Presidency*, 3 vols, 1034, 828, 103, it appears under the name of *Sarcocephalus Cadamba*, Kurz or *Anthocephalus Cadamba*, Miq. Mr. Lushingham describes it as a long leathery downy backed ovate-or-elliptic acute leaved Cadamba, and says that it is the wild *Cinchona* of the Mysore planters. *Ibid.*, II A, p. 364.

<sup>2</sup> *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 176.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VII, p. 34.

<sup>4</sup> *E. I.*, XIV, p. 68.

<sup>5</sup> *E. I.*, XIII, p. 173.

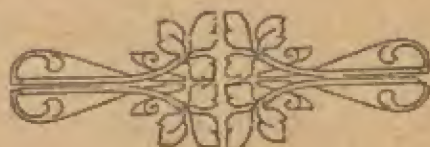
<sup>6</sup> *E. I.*, XVI, pp. 354, 360.

ners<sup>1</sup>. It is therefore clear that there was a craze among the rulers of the south at this time to connect their families with dynasties from the north. The Kadambas who had just then re-established their power, after an eclipse of over three hundred years, conformed themselves to the ideas then obtaining at the courts of contemporary rulers, and attributed a northern origin to their founder. They however observed one important distinction, namely, whereas the other monarchs identified themselves with either the solar or the lunar race, the Kadambas being Brahmans, avoided these extremes.

However it may be objected that as the Kadambas were Brahmans, they were finally of northern origin. It is nevertheless beyond doubt that after the Brahmanic immigration, even Dravidian people were received into the Brahmanic fold, a ceremony repeated centuries later by Mādhavācharya. The family of the Kadambas were undoubtedly among these Kanarese people admitted to such a high status in Hindu society.

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<sup>1</sup> E. C., VI, Cm, 137.





PART II

**The Early Kadambas**

# THE EARLY KADAMBAS

Uchchangi

Banavasi

Tripartita

(1) Mayūraśarmma (c. 345-370)

(2) Kangavaromma  
370-395

(3) Bhagīratha  
395-420

(4) Raghu  
420-430

(5) Kākusthavarmma  
430-450

(7a) Kumāravarmma  
475

(8) Mandhātrivarmma  
490-497

(6) Śāntivarmma  
450-475

(7) Mrigēśavarmma  
475-490

(9) Ravivarmma  
497-537

(10) Hariivarmma  
537-547

(7b) Kṛishṇavaromma I  
475-480

(8b) Vishṇuvarmma  
485-497

(9b) Nisadavarmma  
497-540

(10b) Kṛishṇavaromma II  
540-547

(11) Kṛishṇavaromma II  
547-565

(12) Ajavarmma  
565-606

(13) Bhṛṅgivaromma  
606-610

Vishṇuvarmma

•  
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•  
•

(14) Madhuvarmma  
651-655

Dēvavaromma

## CHAPTER I

### Mayūrasarmma

**T**he Talagunda inscription probably gives an historical account of the origin of the Kadamba dynasty. It is, in the words of Mr. Rice, its discoverer, "a realistic and true account of the Kadamba line of kings, free from current numerous legends regarding it"<sup>1</sup>. According to this version, there was a Brahman family who were devoted to the study of the Vedas and to the performance of the sacrificial rites. They belonged to the *Mānavya gotra*, and their name of *Kadambas* was derived from the fact that they carefully tended a *Kadamba* tree which grew near their house. In this Kadamba family was now born an illustrious and learned Brahman named Mayūrasarmma, who together with his *guru* Virāsarmma, went to Kanchīpuram, the capital of the Pallava kings, to prosecute the study of the Vedas. There he took part in a sharp quarrel with some Pallava horsemen, and being enraged at the treatment meted out on this occasion, and considering it a dishonour to the Brahmins, he, in the picturesque words of the inscription, "with the hands dexterous in grasping the *kuśa* grass, the fuel, the stones, the ladle, the melted butter, and the oblation vessel, unsheathed a flaming sword eager to conquer the world". Accordingly, having trained himself in warlike exercises, he easily overpowered the frontier guards and established himself in the almost inaccessible forests at Śripurvata (Śrisaillam, Karnul District). There he grew so powerful that he was able to levy tribute from the great Bāṇa and other kings, and caused much havoc by his predatory excursions. The Pallava kings of Kanchi took the field against him; but he could not be subdued. At last they made a compact with him by which he undertook to enter their service. Distinguishing himself by his

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VII, introd., p. 9.

deeds of valour, he pleased the Pallavas, his masters, who finally installed him as King over a territory extending from the *Amara* ocean (Western Ocean) to the *Premāra* country (Malva), specifying that other chiefs "should not enter it"<sup>1</sup>.

The observations of Prof. Kielhorn on this inscription are noteworthy. He is of opinion that when Kubja, the composer of the inscription, states that Mayūraśarmma entered the service of the Pallavas, he seems to say that he became a *daṇḍanāyaka* or general of the Pallava kings. This view, he continues, is supported by verse 3 of the inscription which describes the Kadamba family as "the great lineage of leaders of armies (*sēnāni*)"; and also by verse 22 according to which Mayūraśarmma was anointed by Shadānana (the six-faced god of war) after meditating on Sēnāpati, i. e., the general of gods (*Kārttikēya*)<sup>2</sup>.

It is possible that in course of time Mayūraśarmma, who is also styled Mayūravarmma,<sup>3</sup> availed himself of the confusion prevailing in the country after the southern expedition of Samudra Gupta and established himself as an independent ruler. For these events undoubtedly took place not long after the defeat of Vishnugopa of Kanchi, recorded in the Allahabad inscription of Samudra Gupta<sup>4</sup>. It is evident from the inscription, that Mayūravarmma soon grew sufficiently powerful to impose his suzerainty on the neighbouring kings. An epigraphical record found at the same village of Talagunda says that he performed eighteen horse sacrifices<sup>5</sup>. This number seems to be a little exaggerated, after a lapse of seven or eight centuries. Nevertheless, it may safely be maintained that he really performed one or perhaps a few more, which thus formed the historical foundation for the exaggerated version of the later records. This was indeed a great achievement, for it is well known that the great Gupta king, Samudra Gupta, for instance, performed only one. The eightieth year of an unknown era, called the year of victory, to which the Halsi plates of Kākus-

<sup>1</sup> *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 176; *E. I.*, VIII, pp. 33-35.

<sup>2</sup> *E. I.*, VIII, p. 29.

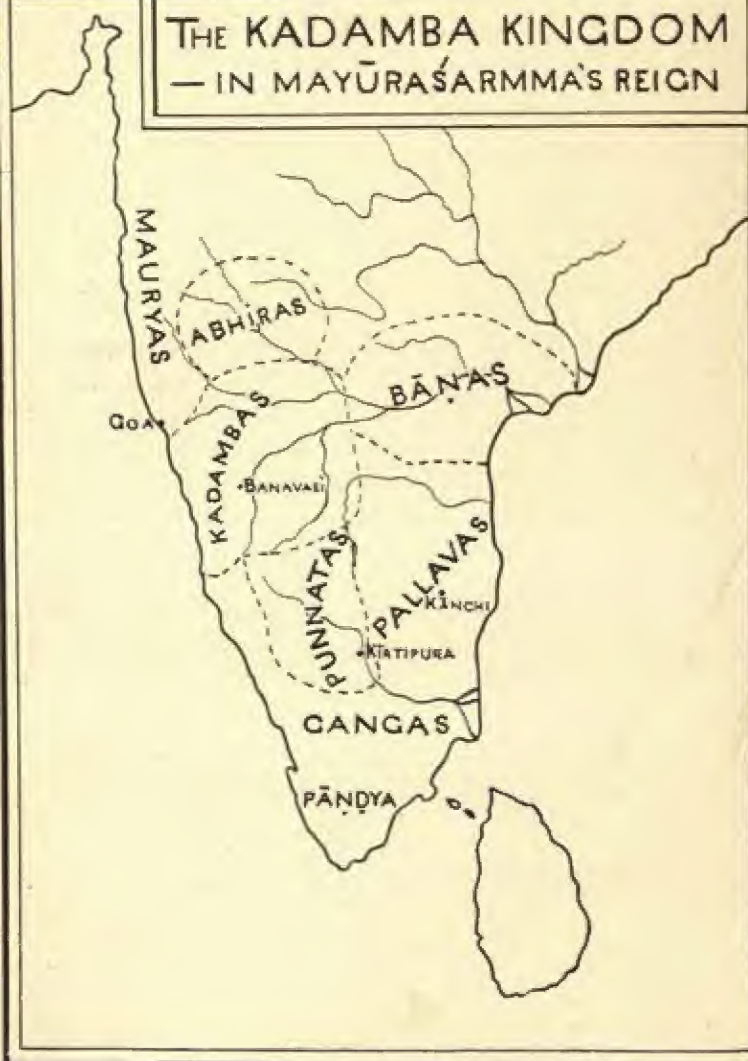
<sup>3</sup> In fact he is known by this name in the later Kadamba records, and accordingly we used this form when discussing the origin of this dynasty in the previous chapter. In the Talagunda inscription he is always named Mayurasarmma.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 13. Cf. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 99.

<sup>5</sup> *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 178.



THE KADAMBA KINGDOM  
— IN MAYŪRĀŚARMMA'S REIGN



tha, Mayūraśarmma's great-grandson, are ascribed, probably began with the independence of the territories granted to the Kadamba family<sup>1</sup>.

At the time of the performance of these *Aśvamēdha* sacrifices the King, if we are to believe the above inscription, granted 144 villages to the Brahmans of Talagundur. These Brahmans would appear to be the descendants of those whom, according to another record, his ancestor Mukkaṇṇa had induced to come from the city of Ahichchatra in the north and to settle at Talagundur, there being none at that time in the south. The same inscription remarks that Mukkaṇṇa Kadamba, "seeking with desire in the region of the South (*dakṣiṇā-patha*), and not finding any, without delay went forth, and doing worship to the Ahichchatra agrahāra, succeeded in obtaining thirty-two Brahman families purified by 12,000 agnihōtras, whom sending before him, he brought and established in the outskirts of the city, in the great agrahāra of Sthānugūḍha."<sup>2</sup> Obviously the Brahmans of the time of Mayūraśarmma were supposed to be the descendants of these colonizers from the north.

But this tradition of the emigration of the Brahmans from the north is lacking in sound historical basis. We have shewn in the chapter on the origin of the Kadamba dynasty that Mukkaṇṇa Kadamba, whom tradition describes as the progenitor of the Kadamba-Kula, was a purely mythological personage. Furthermore the story of the northern origin of the Kanarese Brahmans seems to have been propagated in later times and it has no sanction whatever in the early Kadamba records. Finally while asserting that there were no Brahmans in the south before Mukkaṇṇa, who was already in the south, and who invited them to come from Ahichchatra, this inscription directly contradicts the historical evidence of the Talagunda inscription that the Kadambas were a Brahman family; for if there were no Brahmans in Southern India before this event, the Kadambas cannot be said to be of Brahman origin.

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Sanscrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VI, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 186.

## CHAPTER II

### Kaṅgavarṃma

**K**aṅgavarṃma was the son and successor of Mayūraśarṃma. We are told in the Talagunda inscription that he was forced to wage many and expensive wars<sup>1</sup>. As the phrase "terrible wars" would suggest, these wars did not always prove successful. The chronology adopted by Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil leads him to the conclusion that the king of Kuntala who suffered defeat at the hands of the Vākāṭaka King Prithivīsēna I, was the Kadamba King Kaṅgavarṃma. For according to the same authority King Kaṅgavarṃma reigned probably between 360 and 385 A. D., and Prithivīsēna having ruled between 350 and 390 A.D. was his contemporary<sup>2</sup>. This perhaps was one of his unfortunate campaigns, but it is clear from the same Talagunda inscription that Kaṅgavarṃma was nevertheless quite capable of maintaining his independence, and he even kept his feudatories in subjection. The record states that his "diadem was shaken by the white chowries of all the chiefs of districts who bowed down (before him)"<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *E. I.*, VIII, p. 35; *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 176.

<sup>2</sup> Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, pp. 98-100. This also agrees with the chronology we have adopted.

<sup>3</sup> *E. I.*, VIII, p. 35.

## CHAPTER III

### Bhagiratha

**K**angavarmma's son was Bhagīratha, "the sole lord of the lady the Kadamba land, the great Sagara himself, secretly born in the Kadamba-kula"<sup>1</sup>. The inscription stops with this encomium and goes no further in the narration of events in the reign of Bhagīratha. Judging from the context however, it would appear that Bhagīratha retrieved the losses the family had suffered in the reign of his father and restored the kingdom to its pristine greatness. For the words, "the sole lord of the lady, the Kadamba land", "the great Sagara himself," "secretly born in the Kadamba-kula", are all fully expressive of this idea. "The sole lord of the lady, the Kadamba land", obviously implies that Bhagīratha strengthened and consolidated his kingdom so as to be the sole possessor of the territories of his ancestors. "The great Sagara himself", might have been used to describe him as a great conqueror, and vanquisher of the foes of the newly established Kadamba kingdom. The last part of the eulogy was probably intended to show that during the reign of this monarch the family of the Kadambas was raised to the status of a ruling power of the first rank. Indeed we will not be far from the truth, if we suggest that the historic embassy of Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya to the Kuntala king<sup>2</sup>, mentioned in the *Śrīgāraprakāśika* by the poet Bhoja<sup>3</sup>, probably took place in the reign of this King. For the dates assigned to these two monarchs

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 176.

<sup>2</sup> The early Kadamba kings were the exclusive owners of this title. Subsequent to the defeat of these kings by the Chalukyas, it passed on to the latter.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar, *A Study in Kalidasa in Relation to Political Science*, Madras Oriental Conference, p. 6.

make them fully contemporary with each other <sup>1</sup>.

"This embassy," says Fr. Heras, "appears to be one of the most suggestive events in the history of the Gupta Empire". The embassy itself, not to mention the personality of the ambassador, the great poet Kālidāsa, confirms the growing importance of the Kadamba kings in the beginning of the fifth century. "In fact," he continues, "we do not know of any embassy of the Kadambas to the Gupta sovereigns". Chandra Gupta, it is clear from the Gupta inscriptions, was himself a powerful monarch. He had become the undisputed master of eastern Malwa and Gujerat <sup>2</sup>, and his absolute sovereignty had been acknowledged even in Saurashtra <sup>3</sup>. He had also extended his dominions across the Indus <sup>4</sup>. Furthermore the fact that the Gupta Śaivism was officially accepted in the kingdom of Nepal <sup>5</sup> is a clear proof that the sphere of his influence extended to the northern extremity of India. Now this same Chandra Gupta sends an embassy to the lord of Kuntala, the Kadamba King Bhagiratha. Nothing more is needed therefore, to attest the growing importance of the Kuntala sovereigns <sup>6</sup>.

Further information about this embassy is furnished by Hēma-chandra in his work entitled, *Aucityavicāracarcā*. The author of this work quotes the following verses from Kālidāsa:—

इह निवसति मेरुः शेखरः क्षमाधराणा-  
मिह विनिहितभाराः सागराः संपतन्नि  
इदमहिपतिभोगस्तम्भ विभ्राजमानं  
धरणितलमिहैव स्थानमस्मद्विधानाम् ।

(Here rests Meru, the crest of the mountains,  
And moreover there are seven oceans whose burdens are  
put down here;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Fleet, *Summary of Results for the Gupta Era*, I. A., XVII, p. 363 ff.; Banerji, *The Chronology of the Later Imperial Guptas*, A. B. I., I, pp. 67-80. The date now assigned to Chandra Gupta, is A. D. 389-413-14. Bhagiratha according to the chronology we have adopted ruled from 380-420.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 25, 32, 36.

<sup>3</sup> Bana, *Harsha Charita*, p. 194. (*Oriental Translation Fund Edition*); Thomas, *Gupta Records*, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, o. c., p. 141.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. I. A., IX, p. 173 ff.; XIV, p. 345.

<sup>6</sup> Heras, *Relations between Guptas, Kadambas and Vakatakas*, J. B. O. R. S., XII, p. 459.

This surface of the earth here shining on the support, viz. the coils of the lord of the serpents

Indeed is a fit place for people like ourselves.)

Hemachandra commenting on this writes:—"In this verse Kālidāsa, though the ambassador of a mighty King, on a mean place, not having got a seat corresponding to the honour and dignity befitting his own lord, being forced by circumstances seated only on the ground, with ready self-consciousness and depth of mind shows how fitting a place for people like him the very ground is, being the throne of the earth, (which is) immovable on the surface of the coils of the lord of the snakes; because just there the Meru, the overlord of the mountains, has seated himself, and so did the seven great oceans. There is a real similarity between them and us." <sup>1</sup>.

The fact to be noted here is that the Kadamba King Bhagīrata did not offer Kālidāsa the place of honour befitting the King, he represented. This event which seems to have been purposely intended by Bhagīrata, confirms our view that the Kadamba power was at this time in its ascendancy.

In the two treatises mentioned above we have no clue whatsoever as to the real nature of this embassy. Yet a careful consideration of the events connected with the reign of Chandra Gupta II, may throw some light on this moot point. We know that this King, unlike his predecessors, embarked on a policy of forming dynastic marriages. Thus we see him marrying his daughter Śrī Prabhāvatī Gupta to Rudrasēna, the Vākātaka King <sup>2</sup>. This fact, though it might be understood to mean that the Vākātaka King was desirous of seeing his family related to that of the imperial Guptas, also testifies to the wise policy of Chandra Gupta II in gaining the goodwill of the neighbouring kings by such family connections. Chandra Gupta at this time was dreading an impending invasion of the Hunas <sup>3</sup>. He knew quite well that the terrible onslaughts of these barbarian hordes would spell disaster to the Gupta Empire. He therefore wanted friends to stand by him in that dark hour.

<sup>1</sup> Hemachandra, *Auc̥ṭhyavīcaracarca* (N. S. P. Ed.), pp. 30-40.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 237, vv. 14-15; p. 245-6, vv. 13-6; *E. I.*, XV, p. 41, vv. 7-10, etc. Cf. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *The Vakatakas in Gupta History*, *Q. J. M. S.*, XV, p. 155.

<sup>3</sup> The Hunas actually invaded the Empire towards the end of the reign of Kumara Gupta. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 55, vv. 10, 11, 12, 14. Dīvekar, *Pusyamitras in Gupta Period*, *A. B. I.*, I, pp. 99-103.

Naturally the Emperor endeavoured to gain the friendship of the ruling dynasties of the south by establishing family alliances with them. One of these alliances was doubtless the marriage of Śrī Prabhāvatī Gupta with Rudrasēna II; another, we conjecture, was proposed to the Kādamba King through the imperial ambassador Kālidāsa. In fact the Talagunda pillar inscription seems to point to the same auspicious event when it says that Kākusthavarmma by means of his daughters raised up the family of the Guptas and other kings. In the words of the inscription itself, "the sun among kings by the rays (*viz.*) his daughters, roused up the beds of lotus, (*viz.*) the Gupta and other kings..."<sup>1</sup>. The tone of the inscription is evidently too high for a king in a subordinate position. Hence it is but reasonable to conclude that this family alliance was contracted at the express wish and request of the Gupta sovereign, and that the Kādamba kings were equal, if not superior, in power to the imperial Guptas.

If this is granted, we may suppose that the embassy of Kālidāsa was mainly intended for the settlement of this delicate proposal. The daughters of Bhagīratha, if any, were most likely already married, when the proposal came from the Gupta Emperor. His eldest son, Raghu, seems to have died without issue, since he was succeeded by his brother Kākusthavarmma in 425. One of the daughters of the latter was therefore selected for effecting a union with the Guptas<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 176.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Heras, *Relations between Guptas, Kādambas and Vakatakas*, J. B. O. R. S., XII, p. 459.

## CHAPTER IV

### Raghu

**B**hagīratha was succeeded by his son Raghu, who also bore the title of Raghupārthiva<sup>1</sup>. The Talagunda inscription tells us that Raghu "subdued his enemies". It is likely that he had to quell the rebellions of local chiefs who had so long been chafing under the yoke of Bhagīratha, and made bold to assert their independence, as soon as the great King died. For the words of the epigraph seem to imply that Raghu, at least during the first few years of his reign, had to struggle hard to keep in its integrity the Empire he had inherited from his father. "The King Raghu of good fortune", so runs the inscription, "like Prīthu, having defeated his enemies by his valour, caused the earth (*prīthuvī*) to be enjoyed by his own race"<sup>2</sup>; and again: "His face (was) marked with the weapons of his enemies in combat with opposing warriors, smiter of enemies who withstood him"<sup>3</sup>. That there had been combats during Raghu's reign is also confirmed by the Halsi grant of Kākustha, the brother of Raghu. According to this record Kākustha himself while "Yuvarāja of the Kadambas," seems to have been in great danger of losing his life in one of these fights. He eventually was saved by the bravery of a general called Śrutakīrtty, who was granted, on account of this heroic act, a field in the village of Khēṭagrāma<sup>4</sup>. Evidently this battle, fought while Kākustha was the Yuvarāja, took place during the reign of his elder brother Raghu.

The inscription highly extols the personal accomplishments of Raghu. "His face," says the record, "was marked with the wea-

<sup>1</sup> *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 176.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, *Sanscrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VI, p. 24.

pons of his enemies in combat with opposing warriors, smiter of enemies who withstood him". It is evident from this that Raghu was a great warrior almost cradled in the art of warfare. He was presumably an eminent statesman as well. For we may rightly believe that it was his keen political insight, no less than his consummate generalship, that saved the Empire from impending disaster.

Raghu was indeed a truly successful monarch, and it ever stands to his credit that under the most trying circumstances, when external aggression, perhaps, and internal struggles, certainly, were undermining the foundations of the Kadamba Empire, he was able to hold his sceptre and by breaking the back of all opposition caused "the earth to be enjoyed by his own race"<sup>1</sup>. He is presented as being the beloved of his subjects; and doubtless, this was because the King had the welfare of his people at heart and took care to administer the country well. He seems to have been a man of exceptional learning and mental grasp<sup>2</sup>, and of vigorous personality. Finally the inscription remarks that he was munificent<sup>3</sup>, which may be understood to mean that he helped the people when they were in distress and did not burden them with heavy taxes.

The Talagunda inscription, above referred to, does not say anything about the children of Raghu. Probably, as pointed out above, he died without issue, since on his death his brother Kākusthavarimma succeeded him.

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<sup>1</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 175.

<sup>2</sup> 'Being skilled in diverse arts and versed in the study of ancient lore'.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 175.

## CHAPTER V

### Kakusthavarmma

**O**n the death of King Raghu, his brother Kākusthavarmma, who had been acting so long as the Yuvamahārāja of the Kadam-bas<sup>1</sup>, ascended the throne of Kuntala. It may rightly be said that it was during the reign of this King that the Kadamba Empire reached the acme of its greatness. The Talagunda inscription gives a glowing account of the prosperity of the country under him. It calls him the ornament of the Kadamba family—one who had distinguished himself in fields of battle, who had won the esteem and love of his people by being kind to the needy, by protecting his subjects, and by lifting up the humble. People under such a monarch must evidently have been rich and prosperous, neither crushed by taxation nor harassed by state interference. This general opulence is attested by the inscription itself. "With their accumulation of all manners of essence of wealth, with gateways scented with ichor from lordly lusty elephants, with the sweet sounds of songs, the goddess of fortune contentedly (steadily) enjoys herself in his house for a long time"<sup>2</sup>.

Brigandage was absolutely unknown during this memorable regime of Kākustha, and peace and order flourished to such an extent, that strangers, it has been said, who visited the country felt assured of the safety of their life and property. To quote the picturesque language of the epigraphical record: "As herds of deer tormented by the heat, entering into groups of trees, take refuge in their shade and obtain relief for their panting minds, so relatives

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Sanscrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VI, p. 23. It may be presumed from the inscription that Kakustha was acting as the Yuvamaharaja at Palasika, when his brother was reigning as King at Banavasi. The inscription mentions the year 81 of an unknown era.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 176.

and dependents exposed to injury from superiors (*jyāya*) obtained comforts to their troubled minds by entering this country" <sup>1</sup>.

Kākusthavarmma was a formidable warrior no less than a wise administrator. The Talagunda inscription calls him, "the ornament of the Kadamba family," and "the sun among kings of wide-spread fame" <sup>2</sup>. In the Halsi plates he is styled "the glory of the Kadambas," and again "the Yuvarāja who enjoys the general good wishes of his subjects" <sup>3</sup>. It is possible that he extended the boundaries of the Kadamba Empire by annexing new territories. At any rate it is abundantly clear that the reign of Kākustha was the heyday of the Kadamba power.

The ascendancy of the Kadambas is also evidenced by the fact that this dynasty was united by marriage to other prominent ruling families of the day. Thus for instance a daughter of Kākusthavarmma was given in marriage to Narēndrasēna, the Vākāṭaka King of Berar. The Balghat plates of Prithivīsēna I say that this King was the son of Narēndrasēna, born of the Mahādēvī Ajjhitabhāṭṭārikā, a daughter of the king of Kuntala <sup>4</sup>. The same inscription tells us that Narēndrasēna was the grandson of Rudrasēna II and Śrī Prabhāvatī Gupta, herself a daughter of Chandra Gupta II <sup>5</sup>. According to Mr. Vincent Smith this marriage between Rudrasēna II and Śrī Prabhāvatī Gupta took place about 395 A.D. <sup>6</sup> Monsieur Jouveaudubreuil supposes that the marriage of their grandson happened fifty years later, *i. e.* in 445 <sup>7</sup>. The reigning Kadamba king at this time was certainly Kākusthavarmma and, it being possible that he had a daughter of marriageable age in 445, this daughter was married to Narēndrasēna.

A second daughter of the same Kākustha was wedded to a Gupta king. We have already had occasion to remark that the probable motive of the embassy of Chandra Gupta II was to propose a marriage alliance with the Kadamba King Bhagīratha and the Talagunda inscription bears witness that this alliance actually took place <sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VI, p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> *E. I.*, IX, p. 271, vv. 30-31.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *The Vakatakas in Gupta History*, *Q. J. M. S.*, XV, p. 155.

<sup>6</sup> Smith, *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, p. 326.

<sup>7</sup> Jouveaudubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 100.

<sup>8</sup> *E. C.*, VII, Sk. 176.

This inscription mentions the event, but it does not give the name of the Gupta prince, nor that of the Kadamba princess. Considering however that it was Chandra Gupta II who made overtures to Bhagīratha to form a marriage alliance, some people might be led to think that he himself married the Kadamba princess. But against this supposition we have the undisputed fact that one of the daughters of Kākustha was married to Narēndrasēna, the great-grandson of Chandra Gupta II, through his daughter Śrī Prabhāvatī Gupta. How could two sisters be married one to Chandra Gupta and the other to his great-grandson? It is also impossible that the Gupta prince married to Kākustha's daughter was the future Kumāra Gupta, the son and successor of Chandra Gupta. For if we accept this prince as the one that married the Kadamba princess, two difficulties would at once present themselves. In the first place if, as Fr. Heras supposes, the embassy took place in 390 A. D. and the marriage soon after in 390-91<sup>1</sup>, there is evidently too wide a gap between this marriage and that of another daughter of Kākustha in 445 A. D. with Narēndrasēna, the Vākāṭaka King. Secondly, if we suppose that the embassy was sent in 410 and the marriage took place in 411 or thereabout, there is still the difficulty of the age of Kumāra Gupta. He is believed to have died somewhere in 455 "at a very ripe age". This seems to mean that he died at the age of 85-90. Hence he was a fully aged man (between 50 and 55) in 410, when this marriage took place. Kākusthavarmma would not have, it is evident, given his young daughter to a prince who was already far removed from her in years. It is therefore not unreasonable to conclude that it was one of the grandsons of Chandra Gupta that married the Kadamba princess, and possibly it was Skanda Gupta, the successor of Kumāra Gupta. And as regards the date, we are more inclined to accept 410-11 than 390-91 as the possible date of the marriage. Thus there will be a difference of thirty years between the marriages of Kākustha's daughters. This is not strange at all, especially when considering the fact that the kings married young and had many wives, whom they wedded at different times.

<sup>1</sup> Heras, *Relations between Guptas, Kadambas and Vakatakas*, J.B.O.R.S., XII, p. 462.

## CHAPTER VI

### Santivarmma

**S**āntivarmma, also known as Śāntivaravarmma, was the son and successor of the illustrious Kākustha. He is styled "the second sun" of the Kadamba family in one of the grants of his son, Mṛigēśa<sup>1</sup>. The Talagunda inscription speaks of him as a King of wide-spread fame<sup>2</sup>; and it also appears from other inscriptions that he maintained the glory of the Kadamba Empire undiminished. In fact we have indications in Śāntivarmma's epigraphical records of his having annexed new territories to the already extensive dominions of the Kadambas. For the same Talagunda inscription tells us that he was adorned with the acquisition of three crowns, which might justly be taken to mean that he either defeated or imposed his suzerainty over three neighbouring petty kings. This fact is also corroborated by a statement in an inscription of Viṣṇuvarmma that Śāntivarmma Dharmma-mahārāja was "the master of the entire Karṇāṭa region of the earth, adorned by Vaijayanti, which was glorious with eighteen chieftains (most likely subordinate petty chiefs), enriched with the swift spoils of war"<sup>3</sup>. The grant of Mṛigēśa, above referred to, strikes the same note when it says: "The goddess of fortune of his enemies was enticed by him from their abodes"<sup>4</sup>.

From all this we may rightly conclude that the Kadamba kingdom at this time continued to be as prosperous and rich as in the days of the victorious Kākusthavarmma. The King must have gained

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VI, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 175.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VI, Kd, 162.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, I, c.

the love of his subjects by adopting a wise system of administration and instituting works of charity. The latter is evidenced by the many generous gifts of Śāntivarmma. A long inscription of the time of his grandson tells us how Śāntivarmma rewarded the good conduct of his citizens. The village of Khēta, enjoyed so long by Dāmakīrtti, the royal priest, was on his death given to his mother as a reward for her piety<sup>1</sup>.

Another inscription of Śāntivarmma states that he assisted at the opening ceremony of two temples built by Kannaya, and that he granted on this occasion a *mattal* of rice-land to the priest<sup>2</sup>. These facts bear witness to both the generosity and popularity of Śāntivarmma.

During his reign, Kṛishṇavarmma, his younger brother, had been ruling in the capacity of viceroy over the southern provinces of the Empire. For the Birūr plates of Vishṇuvarmma, while describing Śāntivarmma, the grand-uncle of Vishṇuvarmma, as the "master of the entire Karṇāṭa region of the earth", clearly specify that his younger brother Kṛishṇavarmma "was sovereign of the southern region". Now the same plates record a grant made by Vishṇuvarmma, during his father Kṛishṇavarmma's life. This grant was nevertheless made "with the permission of Śāntivarmma Dharmma-mahārāja"<sup>3</sup>. This evidently shows that the donor as well as Kṛishṇavarmma, the father of the donor, occupied a subordinate position under Śāntivarmma.

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VI, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 44.

<sup>3</sup> *E. C.*, VI, Kd, 162.

## CHAPTER VII

### Mrigesavaromma

**M**rigēśavaromma was the son of the Mahārāja Śāntivaromma. In his Hirē Śakuna plates Mrigēśavaromma is called "Śrīmat Kākustha's dear son's son"<sup>1</sup>. The Dēvagiri plates call him simply the son of Śāntivaromma<sup>2</sup>; while his Halsi plates go a little further and relate that he was the eldest son of Śāntivaromma<sup>3</sup>. The inscription of Ravivaromma confirms this detail, when it says that his (Śāntivaromma's) eldest son was king Mrigēśa, who "was possessed of renowned and wide-spread fame"<sup>4</sup>.

Mrigēśavaromma is variously styled in the inscriptions as Śrīvijayaśiva Mrigēśavaromma, Mrigēśavaromma, Śrī Mrigēśa or simply Mrigēśa.

It would appear from the epigraphical records that soon after the death of Śāntivaromma there took place a division of the Kadamba dominions, which till now had embraced an extensive Empire. In fact the Dēvagiri plates of Yuvarāja Dēvaromma call his father Kṛishṇavaromma, "the pious great King", "the pious great King of the Kadambas", "who celebrated horse-sacrifices", "who was a very jewel among chieftains and excellent kings, who enjoyed a heritage that was not to be attained by persons of Nāga descent"<sup>5</sup>. These *bitrudas* as well as the fact that the inscription does not mention any overlord, as the Birūr inscription of Vishṇuvaromma commented upon in the preceding reign, clearly show that Kṛishṇavaromma had by this time set up as an independent sove-

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VII, Sb, 33.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VII, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., VI, p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., VII, p. 34.

reign. When this independence was obtained we are not able to say. But it will not be a hasty statement to affirm that no better time for renouncing the allegiance could occur than the occasion of his brother's death. Perhaps one of his *dirudas* in the inscription lately referred to, namely, "who acquired great wealth in battle", gives us a hint as to the breaking up of relations with his nephew Mrigēśavarmma.

Thus it was during Mrigēśavarmma's reign at Vaijayanti that the southern provinces of the Empire were separated from the Kadamba dominions, and were ruled over by the younger branch of the family, of which Kṛishṇavarmma became the founder. It is evident from the inscriptions of the kings belonging to this branch that their capital was the city of Triparvata<sup>1</sup>.

A few inscriptions of Mrigēśavarmma have been discovered which give us some details about his life and times. The epigraph at Talagunda, which was apparently intended to record some grant by Mrigēśavarmma's Queen, says that "she was born in the noble Kaikēya family, her name being Prabhāvatī; she was the beloved wife of Mrigēśavarmma Dharma-mahārāja, sprung from the renowned Kadamba family and the mother of Ra(vi) Varma Dharma-mahārāja." The inscription then praises her liberality to the Brahmans<sup>2</sup>. We thus learn that Mrigēśavarmma's Queen was a Kaikēya princess and that her name was Prabhāvatī.

By his marriage with this princess Mrigēśavarmma united his own house with one of the oldest ruling families of India. The Kaikēyas lay claim to an illustrious ancestry. They have been mentioned as a powerful race in the epic poems, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. They seem to have taken a prominent part in the war of the *Mahābhārata*<sup>3</sup>; and the *Rāmāyaṇa* mentions Ashwapati as one of their chiefs at the time of King Janaka<sup>4</sup>. This is the name borne also by the maternal uncle of Bhārata<sup>5</sup>. In course of time a branch of the Kaikēyas seems to have migrated to Southern India and established its sovereignty over a part of Kārnāṭaka. It was the princess belonging to this branch that was very probably married to Mrigēśa.

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VII, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> *M. A. R.*, 1910-11, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> *Mahabh.*, V, 19; XII, 77.

<sup>4</sup> *Ram.*, II, 9, 22.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 113-114.

Mrigēśavarmma, deprived as he was of his southern dominions by Kṛishṇavarmma's rebellion against the Vaijayanti ruler, was none the less a remarkably successful ruler. All the inscriptions that we have speak enthusiastically about his brilliant rule. The one of Dēvagiri says that he was "the great King of the Kadambas", and that the family of Kākustha, to which he belonged, became in his time the lamp of the world <sup>1</sup>. He is described in the grants of his son Ravivarmma as a King possessed of wide-spread fame <sup>2</sup>. And his own grants of Hiṇṇahebbāgilu and Dēvagiri make it clear that the extensive wealth which he treasured was won by the strength and prowess of his own arm and in great danger of battles <sup>3</sup>.

It seems obvious from the Halsi plates of Mrigēśa that there was at this time considerable hostility between the Kadambas and the other ruling families of the day. The same plate records that Mrigēśavarmma gave great fear to his enemies. And this remark is fully borne out by the subsequent statement that he "uprooted the family of Tuṅgagaṅga" and "was a very fire of destruction to the Pallavas" <sup>4</sup>.

It is difficult to determine who the Ganga king was whom Mrigēśavarmma uprooted. There is no evidence as regards this incident in the Ganga inscriptions. Nevertheless one fact of the reign of Harivarmma, who seems to have been the contemporary of Mrigēśa, may perhaps refer to the victory of the Kadamba monarch. Harivarmma is said to have removed his capital from Kuvalāla (Kolar) to Talakād on the river Kāvērī <sup>5</sup>. This change of capital to the south of his kingdom could have been occasioned by an encroachment of his enemies in the north or north-west. As to the identity of the Pallava king defeated by Mrigēśa, it is still more difficult to decide, on account of the several Pallava branches made out from the study of the inscriptions. Mrigēśa seems to have been more or less contemporary with Skandavarmma, whose son Vishṇugopa is not given the title of Mahārāja, but only the title of Yuvamahārāja. This difference of title between father

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Kanarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VII, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, VI, pp. 27-29.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., IV, Hs, 18; Fleet, o. c., p. 38; *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XII, p. 320.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, o. c., p. 25.

<sup>5</sup> E. C., III, Nj, 122. Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 33.

and son may perhaps point to a defeat of the family in the time of Vishnugopa. Anyhow this King seems to have never ruled from Kanchī<sup>1</sup>. Yet the war between Ravivarmma and his relation Vishnುವarmma which will be spoken of at length in the following reign, may give another clue for finding out the Pallava king defeated by Mrigēśa. Vishnುವarmma on this occasion entered into an alliance with one Chandadanda, who seems to have been a Pallava King<sup>2</sup>. This name is nevertheless not found in the Pallava genealogy. He could have belonged therefore to another branch of the family. At any rate, his alliance with Vishnುವarmma against Ravivarmma can satisfactorily be explained by supposing a former defeat of his army, or the one of his predecessor, at the hands of Ravivarmma's father.

In any case these two victories of Mrigēśa abundantly prove that he made good the losses he had sustained at the beginning of his reign by the rebellion of his uncle<sup>3</sup>.

Mrigēśavarmma was a wise administrator. He had, above all, the welfare of his subjects at heart and spared no pains in safeguarding their interests<sup>4</sup>. One of his copper-plate grants found at

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Sanscrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VI, p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> In the Daulatabad plates of Jagadekamalla (A. D. 1017), Jayasimha I, the founder of the Chalukya dynasty, is styled "the destroyer of the pomp of the Kadambas". *Hyderabad Archeological Series*, No. 2, p. 4. But the early records referring to Jayasimha that have hitherto been discovered, contain no allusion to any such event, and do not attribute any specific victories to him. Nor is his name and that of his son Ranaraga connected with any historical facts. Moreover, as is evident from the Kadamba records we have examined, the Kadamba Kings at this time, namely Mrigēśa and Ravivarmma, seem to have been men of exceptional ability, and consequently it would be unreasonable to suppose that these rulers, who had defeated such powerful monarchs as the Pallavas and the Gangas, were themselves routed by a mere soldier of fortune, as Jayasimha I seems to have been. The latter is described in the early Chalukya records as 'the lord of chief favourites,' or 'the favourite'. *I. A.*, XIX, p. 19; *E. I.*, VI, p. 8. Dr. Fleet appears to conclude from this that Jayasimha I and Ranaraga very possibly held some military or executive office under the Kadamba kings of Banavasi. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 343. It is probable that this paved the way for the subsequent independence of the family in the days of Pulikesi I.

<sup>4</sup> *E. C.*, IV, Hs, 18.

Dēvagiri informs us that he was well skilled in the art of government <sup>1</sup>. He also seems to have meted out equal justice to all without distinction of birth or title. The Hitgahebbāgilu plates even style him as "Yudhisṭhira in justice" <sup>2</sup>. Mṛigēśa is described in the records as a man of lofty intellect. The same Dēvagiri plates speak of him as sharing his wealth with the Brahmans, saints, preceptors, and learned men <sup>3</sup>. Given such a sympathetic ruler, it is not too much to surmise that literature and art received a fresh stimulus under his patronage. Speaking of the great efforts he made in acquiring knowledge the grant says that his noble mind busied itself in learning and discriminating the truths of the several sciences (*śāstras*), beneficial and entertaining in both the worlds <sup>4</sup>. Finally Mṛigēśa was a deeply religious man. He was a pious Brahman like his predecessors. He is said in one of his inscriptions to be "honouring gods, Brahmans, priests and the learned; ever making gifts to chief Brahmans" <sup>5</sup>. The latter part of this statement, however, is not an exaggeration, since all his inscriptions that have come down to us bear abundant witness to his liberality. Moreover though a pious Hindu, he was not intolerant of the other religions that flourished in his kingdom. Jainism in particular found favour in his eyes. We have three grants of his to the worshippers of Jinēndra <sup>6</sup>.

About his personal accomplishments one of his grants says that he had properly exercised himself in manly sports, which comprised riding on elephants, and horses use of weapons, and other games <sup>7</sup>. We have already seen that his literary achievements were remarkable and his knowledge of various sciences extensive.

Before concluding this brief narrative of his reign we may say a few words about Jainism at this time. From the three grants above referred to, one may get a glimpse of the flourishing condition of Jainism in the reign of Mṛigēśa. They mention at least three congregations of Jaina ascetics that lived in those days. For instance, Mṛigēśa is said to have granted an extensive tract of land (33 *nīvar-*

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Sanscrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VII, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., IV, Hs, 11.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet, l. c.; E. C., l. c.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, l. c.

<sup>5</sup> E. C., l. c.

<sup>6</sup> Fleet, o. c., p. 38; *Ibid*, VI, pp. 25 and 29.

<sup>7</sup> Fleet, l. c.

*tanas*) from the river Mātṛīsarit up to the sacred confluence of the rivers, which is called *lṅgiṅśaṅgama*, for the purpose of supporting the Kūrchakas, who were naked religious mendicants<sup>1</sup>. The village of Kālavaṅgā was also divided into three portions, two of which were bestowed, one on the sect of eminent ascetics called *Śvētapāṭa*, and the other on another sect called *Nirgrantha*<sup>2</sup>. Moreover the state of Jaina temples, the ceremonies that were performed in them, as mentioned in some inscriptions, and the liberal grants of the King to meet the expenses of those ceremonies, show that Jainism was really a popular religion in the Kadamba Empire and that there were many people who were worshippers of Jinēndra.

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<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *o. c.*, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, p. 38.

## CHAPTER VIII

### Kumaravarmma

When Mṛigēśavarmma and Kṛishṇavarmma were ruling over the Kadamba Empire, the one in the north and the other in the south<sup>1</sup>, a third king of the same line seems to have established himself at Uchchāśringī or Uchchangi<sup>2</sup>. This King was Śrī Kumāravarmma Mahārāja. He was possibly a brother of Śāntivarmma, and son of Kākustha, like Kṛishṇavarmma I. For it is not improbable that when Kṛishṇavarmma was made, in the reign of his elder brother Śāntivarmma, the viceroy of the Dakṣiṇāpatha or the south, Kumāravarmma was appointed to the viceroyalty of the eastern dominions of the Empire. Indeed, when Śāntivarmma succeeded his father Kākustha, the Kadamba Empire had reached such vast proportions that it was but natural that Śāntivarmma should have administered it by means of viceroys. We may suppose that on the death of Śāntivarmma, when Mṛigēśavarmma ascended the throne at Vaijayanti, Kumāravarmma, taking advantage of the youth and inexperience of the new Emperor, threw up his allegiance to his overlord and established for himself an independent kingdom in the east. We do not possess any information about this monarch, as there are no inscriptions which speak about him, excepting the one of Mandhātā-rāja. According to this record the latter was the son of Śrī Kumāravarmma Mahārāja<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. below, Chapter IX.

<sup>2</sup> *M. A. R.*, 1910-11, p. 31, note. This place has been identified with Uchchangī-durga, situated about 3 miles to the east of Molakalmuru. In one of the Hāsi grants (*J. A.*, VI, 30) the place is called Uchchāśringī, "but the name given in the present grant is more nearly like its vernacular equivalent."

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

## CHAPTER IX

### Krisnavarmma I

**K**ṛishṇavarmma was the younger son of Kākusthavarmma and brother of Śāntivarmma. In the Birūr plates of Kṛishṇavarmma's son Viṣṇuvarmma, Śāntivarmma is said to be the *Jyēshtha-pitri* or "the father's elder brother" of the latter<sup>1</sup>. This enables us to establish the relationship between the two branches of the Kadamba family.

Kṛishṇavarmma, as stated above, acted till his brother Śāntivarmma's death as the viceroy of the southern provinces of the Kadamba Empire. But on the accession of his nephew Mṛigēśa to the throne at Vaijayanti, he renounced his allegiance to his brother's successor and formed for himself an independent kingdom in the south. The capital of this younger branch of the Kadambas is difficult to ascertain with certainty. However the fact that the Dēvagiri plates of Dēvavarma, son of Kṛishṇavarmma, are issued from Triparvata has led Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil to think that this was their seat of government<sup>2</sup>.

The satisfactory identification of this city has caused some difficulty to the scholars. Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil has put forward the suggestion that it was probably Dēvagiri, in the Karajgi Taluqua of the Dhārwar District<sup>3</sup>. However he does not specify any reason for this identification. It was probably based upon the fact that the copper-plate inscription above referred to was found at this village. But against this it may be argued that two more records were discovered at the same place, issued from Vaijayanti by

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VI, Kd, 162. Cf. E. I., VIII, p. 30, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 101.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

Mrigēśavarmma. Moreover the word Dakṣiṇāpatha, of which Kṛṣṇavarmma was first the viceroy and subsequently the King, suggests a province to the south of Banavasi; whereas Dēvagiri is to the north. These considerations prove that Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil's theory is inaccurate.

Tripārvata was very likely the ancient name of Halebid, in the Belur Taluqa, of the Mysore State. In the time of the Hoysaḷas, it became one of their capitals. The reasons for this identification are that it is situated to the south of Banavasi, thus agreeing with the description of being in the Dakṣiṇāpatha. Furthermore a set of copper-plates of Kṛṣṇavarmma II were found in the neighbourhood of this village<sup>1</sup>. Moreover the topography of this village exactly fits in with the etymological meaning of the word Tripārvata, a city of three hills. For in the vicinity of Halebid there are three hills protecting the village. These are Bhairava-guḍḍa and Pushpagiri to the south-east of the village and Bennegūḍḍa to the west. The Hoysaḷas made this one of their *rājadhānis* (capitals), possibly because of its historical associations as the capital of the southern branch of the Kadambas.

Kṛṣṇavarmma is said to have married a Kaikēya princess and had by her a son, known as Viṣṇuvarmma<sup>2</sup>. The Bīrūr plates, spoken of above, contain a grant made by the latter during the life time of his father with the permission of his granduncle Śāntivarmma. Some incidental remarks made in the same inscription lead us to conclude that Kṛṣṇavarmma had other sons besides Viṣṇuvarmma. The statement that Viṣṇuvarmma was the eldest son seems to suggest the existence of two other sons younger than him. Again the unusual statement that Viṣṇuvarmma was Kṛṣṇavarmma's son "from the daughter of the Kaikēya" seems pointedly to indicate that Kṛṣṇavarmma had one or more sons from another wife. Can it not be supposed that Yuvarāja Dēvavarmma, who is said in his Dēvagiri plates, to be "the beloved son of the pious great king Śrī Kṛṣṇavarmma"<sup>3</sup>, was the second son of Kṛṣṇavarmma? Judging from the writing, these Dēvagiri plates would appear to be of the same period as the Bīrūr plates. It is absolutely certain that they are much anterior to the Bennahalli plates of Kṛṣṇavarmma II<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> E. C., V, B1, 121.

<sup>2</sup> E. I., VI, p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VII, p. 34.

<sup>4</sup> E. I., I. c., p. 17.

It is evident from the inscriptions of Kṛishṇavarmma that he was a successful King at least during the greater part of his rule. The Bennahalli plates of his grandson Kṛishṇavarmma II record that he was "famed for victory in many arduous wars, learned and modest"<sup>1</sup>. The Dēvagiri grant of his son Dēvavarmma calls him "the pious great King of the Kadambas", "a very jewel among chieftains and excellent kings", and adds the significant remark that "he acquired great wealth in battle" and "possessed the sole umbrella"<sup>2</sup>. The Birūr plates of his son Viṣṇuvarmma, which were issued, as we have said above, in the reign of his brother Śāntivarmma, say that Kṛishṇavarmma was "the sovereign of the southern region adorned with his outspread umbrella"<sup>3</sup>. All these inscriptions expressly state that Kṛishṇavarmma performed the horse sacrifice. This is for the second time in Kadamba history that we come across a king that performs the horse sacrifice. It will be remembered that the first king of this dynasty to perform this rite, symbolic of supreme power, was Mayūravarmma. Not even the great King Kākustha is anywhere said to have been admitted to this unique honour.

It was probably towards the end of his reign that Kṛishṇavarmma suffered an irretrievable defeat at the hands of the Pallavas. One of the inscriptions of this Kadamba monarch found in the Dēvanagere Taluqua informs us that in a disastrous battle his army was totally defeated by the Pallava King, Naṇakkāsa. Śivanandavarmma, whose country was thereby ruined, retired in consequence from the world and betook himself to a forest intent on leading a life of penance, prayer and solitude<sup>4</sup>. The result of this battle seems to be that Kṛishṇavarmma remained till his death under the political tutelage of the Pallavas. For as we shall see in the next reign, his son Viṣṇuvarmma was installed on his throne by the Pallavas.

It now remains for us to identify the two persons, mentioned in the inscription, namely Naṇakkāsa and Śivanandavarmma. Mr. Rice is of the opinion that the latter was perhaps another son of Kṛishṇavarmma. According to the same authority the expression, "born in the family of the Kēkayas," suggests that

<sup>1</sup> E. C., V, B1, 121.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Sanscrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VII, p. 34. The sole umbrella is indicative of universal sovereignty.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VI, Kd., 162.

<sup>4</sup> E. C., XI, Dg, 161.

he was born of the same mother as Viṣṇuvarmma<sup>1</sup>. The information, however, that is furnished by the inscription appears to contradict this view directly. For the epigraph says that he was "of the Atrēya gōtra, born in the Sōma-vamśa, born also in the family of the Kēkayas"; whereas the Kadambas are described in all their records as of the Mānavya gōtra and sons of Hāriti. How could the father and the son belong to two different gōtras? Indeed it would be nearer the truth to say that Śivanandavarmma was probably a close relation of Kṛṣṇavarmma, possibly a brother of the Kaikēya princess, he had married. It is not improbable that he was the governor of a province to the east of the Kadamba dominions and might have been responsible for the disaster above referred to<sup>2</sup>. The inscription describes him as being devoted to the feet of his father and mother. He is also reported to have been "charmed with heroism, courage, bravery, and valour," and distinguished by flattering attributes due to a succession of brave deeds<sup>3</sup>.

With regard to Naṅakkāsa we are told in the same record that he was the Pallava monarch that inflicted defeat on Kṛṣṇavarmma's army. But no monarch of this name is to be found in the list of the Pallava kings drawn from their inscriptions hitherto discovered. Kṛṣṇavarmma seems to have been more or less a contemporary of Skandavarmma II and his son Viṣṇugopa. The latter is certainly out of the question, for as we have already observed, he was a weak ruler. Hence, we may conclude that the Pallava king that defeated Kṛṣṇavarmma was either Skandavarmma, or a king belonging to one of the many branches of the Pallavas, whose inscriptions have not come down to us.

<sup>1</sup> Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 24-25.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *E. C.*, XI, Dg. 161.

## CHAPTER X

### Vishnuvarmma

**K**rishnavarmma was succeeded by his son Vishnuvarmma. The Birūr plates of the latter tell us that he was the eldest son of Krishnavarmma<sup>1</sup>; and according to the Bennahalli plates of his grandson Krishnavarmma II, "he was begotten by him (Krishnavarmma) on the daughter of Kaikēya"<sup>2</sup>. We may presume that Vishnuvarmma was the governor of a province, when he made the grant recorded in the Birūr plates.

Vishnuvarmma is said in his Hebbata record to have been installed on his throne, "by Śāntivarmma, a Pallava king"<sup>3</sup>. We may deduce from this fact that, when Krishnavarmma died, Mṛigēśavarmma or some other king of the elder branch of the Kadamba family tried to prevent Vishnuvarmma's succession to his father's throne; and Vishnuvarmma having appealed to his overlord, was helped by him. According to this theory the Pallava king Śāntivarmma would be the successor and perhaps the son of Napakkāsa, who had routed Vishnuvarmma's father.

There are a few Kadamba inscriptions that give us an estimate of Vishnuvarmma's ability as a ruler. The Bennahalli plates, above referred to, compare him to Vatsa Rāja, Indra and Arjuna in the use of the bow and in the training of horses and elephants. The same plates also refer to his proficiency in Grammar and Logic<sup>4</sup>. His own Birūr plates record that he had distinguished himself by a "collection of hundred pious great works of merit, of hereditary fame for great bravery and valour gained in war". The grant goes

<sup>1</sup> *E. C.*, VI, Kd, 162.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, V, B1, 121.

<sup>3</sup> *M. A. R.*, 1925, p. 98.

<sup>4</sup> *E. C.*, V, B1, 121.

on to say that he was "the protector and proclaimer of the excellent Brahman faith, kind to all, goodness like a moon, shining on the water-lilies, (*viz.*) the minds of the twice-born, the learned and his friends"<sup>1</sup>. The Hebbata grant of his says that "he had achieved victories against great odds in a number of battles", that he had made "a proficient study of the Śāstras and arts," that he was "an efficient ruler of his people" and that "he was a truthful and good Brahman"<sup>2</sup>.

All these praises, excepting the one that proclaims his Brahman faith, appear to be empty boasts. Vishṇuvarmma does not impress us as a great monarch. The express mention in the same Hebbata plates, issued in the fifth year of his reign, of the favour done to him by the Pallava King, would suggest that he was probably a dependent of the Pallavas all his life. In fact a careful perusal of this inscription will reveal that Vishṇuvarmma is here denied one of the most important *birudas*, always applied to the Kadamba monarchs. The inscription mentions only the bare name of Vishṇuvarmma, while the grants of other kings never fail to prefix at least the title of 'Mahārāja' before their names.

It was probably at the accession of the young prince Ravivarmma, the ruler of the northern kingdom, that Vishṇuvarmma, thought that the time had possibly arrived for contesting the succession to the throne of Vaijayanti with his relation Ravivarmma. He must have found a willing helper in his overlord Chaṇḍaṇḍa, the King of Kānchi, the successor and perhaps the son of Śantivarmma, who probably believed that he would thus be able to establish his suzerainty over the whole of the Kadamba dominions and restore the honour of his ancestors, defeated by Mṛigēśa, Ravivarmma's father. The fact that the Hebbata inscription of Vishṇuvarmma betrays considerable Ganga influence<sup>3</sup> shows that the Gangas at this time were friendly disposed towards the younger branch of the Kadamba family. It is therefore not unreasonable to suppose that they also joined this coalition, hoping to retrieve the losses inflicted by the same Mṛigēśa. As we shall see later, this attempt was not successful. Ravivarmma, in spite of his youth, came out successful in the war and killed his chief adversary Vishṇuvarmma<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VI, Kd, 162.

<sup>2</sup> M. A. R., 1925, p. 98.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, *Sanscrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VI, p. 30.

## CHAPTER XI

### Simhavarmma

**S**imhavarmma was the son of Vishnuvarmma<sup>1</sup>. No inscription of this King has come down to us, and therefore the little we know of him is derived from the Bennahalli plates of his son Krishnavarmma II. It is possible that after the defeat and death of his father Vishnuvarmma, Simhavarmma remained in an inferior position during the long reign of Ravivarmma. This perhaps partly accounts for the fact that there are no inscriptions of Simhavarmma.

Simhavarmma is described in the Bennahalli plates as, "the Mahārāja of the Kadambas, brave and skilled in many (branches of) learning"<sup>2</sup>. As he is called the Mahārāja in this grant we may presume that he ruled as an independent king, but over a small kingdom. The second part of the praise, namely that he was skilled in many branches of learning, clearly shows that he was not a warrior, but devoted himself to private study.

We said above that we do not possess any grants of this King. From this it is also possible to deduce that his reign was a very short one. For even as petty ruler we would have had at least one grant if he had ruled for a longer period.

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<sup>1</sup> E. C., V, B1, 121.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

## CHAPTER XII

### Mandhata Raja or Mandhatrivarmma

**M**andhātrivarmma was the son of Kumāravarmma. He was also known as Mandhāta Rāja. A grant dated in the second year of his reign from Vaijayanti styles him Vijayaśiva Mandhātrivarmma<sup>1</sup>. His Shimoga plates issued in the fifth regnal year call him merely Mandhāta Rāja<sup>2</sup>. We are however certain that both these names refer to the same monarch. For not only do the names sound similar but the grants also seem on palaeographical ground to belong to the same period. Moreover the Shimoga plates of this King bear great resemblance to the Hebbata plates of Vishṇuvarmma<sup>3</sup>. Both these records begin like the Ganga grants with *Svastī jitam bhagavatā*, the only other grant with a similar beginning being the Beṇṇūr plates of Kṛishṇavarmma II<sup>4</sup>. But it is clear from a careful comparison of the above three plates of Mandhātrivarmma and Vishṇuvarmma with the one of Kṛishṇavarmma II that the form of characters in which the former are written is quite different from those in which the latter are inscribed. This would make Mandhātrivarmma a contemporary of Vishṇuvarmma, and not of Kṛishṇavarmma. Furthermore a comparison of the Kūḍgere plates of Mandhātrivarmma with the other Kadamba inscriptions then existing led Dr. Kielhorn to connect this monarch closely with Mṛigēśavarmma<sup>5</sup>. "The characters", says he, "are of the box-headed type of the southern alphabet, and in their general appearance, among Kadamba inscriptions, resemble most those of

<sup>1</sup> *E. I.*, VI, p. 18; *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 29.

<sup>2</sup> *M. A. R.*, 1910-11, pp. 31-35.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1925, p. 98.

<sup>4</sup> *E. C.*, V, Bl, 245.

<sup>5</sup> The Hebbata plates of Vishṇuvarmma and the Shimoga plates of Mandhata had not been discovered at the time when Dr. Kielhorn wrote.

the Dēvagere plates of the fourth year and the Halsi plates of the Mahārāja Mṛigēśavarmma. (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 37 and Vol. VI, p. 24, plates)<sup>1</sup>. Lastly the Hiṇṇahebbāgilu plates of the same Mṛigēśa are throughout similar to these Kūdgere plates. The usual prefix *viśaya-śiva* also occurs in the Hiṇṇahebbāgilu plates and both the inscriptions are described as *Paṭṭikās*<sup>2</sup>. It is evident therefore that Mandhātrivarmma was also a contemporary of Mṛigēśavarmma.

All this is calculated to prove our hypothesis that the Kadamba Empire at this time had already been dismembered and was ruled over by Mṛigēśavarmma, Viśṇuvarmma and Kumāravarmma in the north, south and east respectively. It also shews that Śāntivarmma, Kṛishṇavarmma, and Kumāravarmma were all brothers or at least very close relations, since only such could be appointed to the highly responsible posts of viceroys of the different parts of the Empire.

We have said that the Kūdgere plates of Mandhātrivarmma were issued from Vaijayanti or Banavasi. This fact seems to suggest that on the death of the King of Banavasi, his cousin Mṛigēśa, Mandhātrivarmma who was ruling at a short distance from this capital marched on the latter city and seized upon the throne. We know that Mṛigēśavarmma died an almost premature death<sup>3</sup>, and his son, Ravivarmma, was perhaps a mere stripling at the time. Consequently Mandhātrivarmma could have his own way and he usurped the throne. It is clear from the inscriptions that Mandhātrivarmma ruled over this kingdom for more than five years. His Shimoga plates are dated in the fifth year of his reign<sup>4</sup>.

There are no other Kadamba inscriptions that speak of the successor of Mandhātrivarmma. It is possible that he died without an heir, or that when Ravivarmma came of age there followed a civil war in the course of which Mandhātrivarmma was killed, and Ravivarmma ascended the throne of Vaijayanti by right. The latter conclusion is more probable, for perhaps it is because of this occurrence that all the records of the Kadamba kings pass this branch over without any mention. Our knowledge of Kumāravarmma and

<sup>1</sup> *E. I.*, VI, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *E. C.*, VII, Sk. 29. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. VI-VII.

<sup>3</sup> The documents we have do not go beyond his eighth regnal year.

<sup>4</sup> *M. A. R.*, 1910-11, pp. 31-35.

his son Mandhātrivarmma is derived from the two records mentioned above, belonging to the latter.

The Shimoga plates of this monarch say that this glorious Mandhāta Rāja raised the "banner in the shape of the fame acquired on many battlefields on which his scent-elephants in rut trampled on the bodies of his enemies"<sup>1</sup>. Though at first sight this eulogium might strike us as a fitting record of the glories of Mandhātrivarmma as a ruler, it must nevertheless be counted as an empty boast, as we know that this monarch was a usurper.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid.



# THE KADAMBA EMPIRE UNDER RAVIVARMA

- ① SĒNDRAKA VISHAYA
- ② DAKSHINĀ PATHA



——— COUNTRY UNDER RAVIVARMA  
 AFTER IT WAS CONQUERED BY  
 HIM FROM THE TWO YOUNGER  
 BRANCHES OF THE KADAMBA FAMILY  
 - - - COUNTRY UNDER THE FEUDATORY  
 OF THE KADAMBAS

## CHAPTER XIII

### Ravivarmma

At the time of the death of Mandhātrivarmma, the throne of Banavasi was again occupied by a representative of the main line of the Kadamba-Kula in the person of Ravivarmma, Mrigēśa's son, who had been dispossessed of his rights by the intruder Mandhāta. The new King seems to have come to the throne at a very early age. This prince being young, the Pallava and the Ganga Kings, who had been vanquished by his father Mrigēśa, tried to retaliate by encroaching on the Kadamba territory. They also appear to have prevailed upon his relation Vishṇuvarmma to make a bid for the sovereignty of the northern regions. But Ravivarmma, as seen when narrating the history of Vishṇuvarmma's reign, rose equal to the occasion, defeated them all in battle, and even killed Vishṇuvarmma. "That mighty King," says the epigraphical record, "the Sun of the sky of the mighty family of the Kadambas, who having slain Śrī Vishṇuvarmma and other kings, and having conquered the whole world, and having uprooted Chaṇḍadaṇḍa, the Lord of Kāñchī, had established himself at Palāśikā"<sup>1</sup>. The Halsi plates of his son Harivarmma record that Ravivarmma "acquired the regal power by the strength and the prowess of his own arm"<sup>2</sup>.

Ravivarmma had undoubtedly a long and prosperous reign. The Nilambūr plates of this sovereign which were issued from Vijayanti are dated in the fifth year of his reign<sup>3</sup>. There are

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VI, p. 30. Dr. Fleet states that Vishṇuvarmma was the Pallava king Vishnugopavarmma. But it seems more likely that the king mentioned was Ravivarmma's contemporary, in the younger branch of the Kadamba family, the son of Krishnavarmma.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VI, p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> E. I., VIII, p. 148.

three sets of plates dated in the same reign from Palāśika<sup>1</sup>, and the Ajjibad-Sirsi plates are dated in the 35th year of his reign<sup>2</sup>. It being likely that he lived a few years more, after he made this grant, we might give 40 years as the possible extent of his reign. There is nothing strange in this assumption for the simple reason that Ravivarmma ascended the throne when quite young.

All the inscriptions of the Kadamba kings that speak of Ravivarmma are unanimous in presenting him as a truly great monarch. A set of Halsi plates of his son Harivarmma describes him as a King "who possessed a blameless and mighty regal power that had been acquired by the strength of his own arm"<sup>3</sup>. His own Halsi grants tell us that he "acquired good fortune by his excellence and fortitude,"<sup>4</sup> and that he was "the Sun on the sky of the mighty family of the Kadambas"<sup>5</sup>. His Sirsi plates record that before his prowess "(are) prostrate all", and apparently as if trying to compare him as warrior to the great Kākusthavarmma add: "Similar to the great leader of the armies of Kadamba"<sup>6</sup>. Ravivarmma is, in these inscriptions, said to have slain Vishṇuvarmma and other kings and conquered the whole world<sup>7</sup>. This inscription does not mention the name of the Gangas, among the kings subdued by Ravivarmma. Yet it is possible that he extended his conquests to the territories of the Gangas, uprooted on a previous occasion by his father Mṛigēśa. Indeed the Nilambūr plates of Ravivarmma seem to hint at this fact, as they contain a grant of two hamlets named Multagi and Malkāvu, situated at a very short distance from Talakāḍ, the new capital of the Gangas<sup>8</sup>. We have said above that the possible reason why the Ganga king Harivarmma transferred his capital from Kuvalāla (Kolar) to Talakāḍ was the encroachment of his enemies on the north or north-west. It is possible that Ravivarmma continued the war against the Gangas and after the defeat of the allies successfully attacked their new capital at Talakāḍ. In no other way can one account for this grant. The fact that the plates are dated in the 5th regnal year of

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, o. c., pp. 27, 29, 30.

<sup>2</sup> *Progress Report*, A. S. W. I., 1917-18, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet, o. c., p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>6</sup> *E. I.*, XVI, p. 268 and note 4.

<sup>7</sup> Fleet, l. c., p. 30.

<sup>8</sup> *E. I.*, VIII, p. 147.

Ravivarmma confirms our statement that the Gangas were also implicated in the conspiracy to dethrone the young prince.

All the inscriptions highly extol Ravivarmma's extraordinary qualities of head and heart. In the Halsi grant of his brother Bhānuvarmma, he is called "the pious Great King of the Kadambas"<sup>1</sup>. His own Sirsi plates testify that he was "well-versed in statesmanship"<sup>2</sup>. The Halsi plates of his son Harivarmma record that he was the touchstone to test the gold which was the mind of learned men, and that he supported holy people with the wealth he had amassed by just means<sup>3</sup>. The fact that he went to the extent of supporting holy people and scholars is corroborated by his own Halsi and Nilambūr grants. "The Lord Ravi", the former remarks, "established the ordinance at the mighty city of Palāśika that ascetics should be supported during the four months of the rainy season; that the learned men, the chief of whom was Kumāradatta, should according to justice enjoy all the material substance of that greatness"<sup>4</sup>. The Nilambūr inscription mentions a grant of two villages to a Brahman named Gōvindaswāmi, who had mastered the *Yajurvēda*, the purpose of the grant being the increase of his own merit<sup>5</sup>. The Sirsi plates record another grant made by him to the temple of his beloved physician, the *dēśāmātya* Nīlakaṇṭha<sup>6</sup>. The Halsi inscription above referred to records other ordinances established by him, including provision for the celebration, every year on the full moon day of the month Kārttika (Oct.-Nov.), of the eight days festival of the god Jinēndra<sup>7</sup>. The second Halsi record of Ravivarmma also mentions a grant made by him to the god Jinēndra<sup>8</sup>.

Thus loved by all his subjects Ravivarmma passed away after a long reign of 40 years. An inscription found in the Sorab Taluqua seems to imply that, when Ravivarmma died, one of his queens became a satī, and was burnt with his body<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, J. A., VI, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> *E. I.*, XVI, p. 268.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet, *o. c.*, p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> *E. I.*, VIII, p. 148.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, XVI, p. 268.

<sup>7</sup> Fleet, *o. c.*, p. 27.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>9</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 523.

## CHAPTER XIV

### Harivarmma

Ravivarmma was succeeded by his son Harivarmma. The reign of this sovereign seems to have been remarkably short. In fact his age, when he ascended the throne, was undoubtedly ripe, as the reign of his father was longer than usual. Moreover the three copper-plate grants that have come down to us do not go beyond his eighth regnal year. The one of Halsi dated in his fourth year records that "he was kindly disposed towards his subjects," and had "acquired a sovereignty that was free from all troubles"<sup>1</sup>. In fact the foes of the Kadamba Empire, as we have already seen, had so completely been vanquished during the long reign of the illustrious Ravivarmma, that they dared not rise against his successor at the beginning of his reign. The inscription next remarks that he, "pervaded the whole world with his fame" and again that he "cleft open the mountains, which were his enemies, by the blows of the thunderbolt, which was his own arm." One feels that the last two praises are too poetic to be taken at their face value. Indeed on reading the second grant, also from Halsi, dated in the fifth year of his reign, one begins to doubt whether he was actually a great monarch. Unlike other grants it entirely thrusts into the back ground the donor while it grows eloquent on the achievements of his father Ravivarmma. It is satisfied with saying that Harivarmma was "a moon to the blue lotuses, that were the hearts of his own subjects," while it bestows a long litany of praises on Ravivarmma. It speaks of the latter as one, "who possessed a blameless and mighty regal power that had been acquired by the strength and prowess of his own arm; who was the touchstone to

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<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Sanscrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VI, p. 31.

test the gold, which was the minds of the learned people; who had manifested his victory over his passions by freeing himself from lust and other such enemies; who supported holy people with the wealth that he had amassed by just means, and whose pure fame was spread abroad over the surface of the earth, and who was the Great King of the Kadambas..."<sup>1</sup>. This clearly shows that Harivarmma if not exactly a weakling, was never as great a monarch as his father.

Harivarmma was the last King of the elder branch of the Kadamba family. For immediately after this monarch we find Krishṇavarmma II, the representative of the younger branch, on the throne of Vaijayanti<sup>2</sup>. Possibly Harivarmma died without an heir and appointed Krishṇavarmma as his successor, in order to unify and strengthen the Kadamba Empire. This indeed appears a plausible compromise intended to put an end to the unfriendly relations existing between the two branches of the same family, which were tending to undermine the power of the Kadamba-Kula.

But an epithet used in one of the inscriptions of the same Krishṇavarmma seems to contradict this theory. Krishṇavarmma is said in the record to have acquired the wealth of his kingdom by his own strength and valour<sup>3</sup>. This would probably imply that Krishṇavarmma renewed the hereditary feud, and in the war that followed Harivarmma lost both his life and his kingdom.

In this Krishṇavarmma was most likely helped by the rebellion of Pulikeśi I in the northern part of Harivarmma's kingdom. We referred above to the suggestion of Dr. Fleet that Jayasīma and Raṇarāga, the first members of the Chalukya family, were probably in the employ of the Kadamba emperors in their northern dominions<sup>4</sup>. The advantageous position which they held under the Kadambas seem to have slowly paved the way for the final independence of the Chalukyas in the time of Pulikeśi I. The latter, it is evident, took advantage of the weakness of Harivarmma and declared himself an independent sovereign over the northern provinces of the Kadamba Empire, of which he was presumably the chief administrative official. Indeed the fact that he made Bādāmi, which is situated exactly in the centre of the northern provinces of

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> E. I., XVI, p. 271.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., V, B1, 121.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 343.

the Kadamba kingdom, his capital<sup>1</sup>, plainly indicates that by this insurrection Harivarmma lost the entire northern part of his kingdom<sup>2</sup>.

Though the Chalukyas shook off the yoke of Kadamba supremacy, the Sēndrakas nevertheless remained faithful to their overlords. A copper-plate inscription of Harivarmma avers that the Sēndrakas were at this time the feudatories of the Kadambas. The inscription records the grant of a village called Maradē, at the request of Bhānuśakti, for the use of the holy people and for the purposes of the celebrations of the rites of the temple to the Śramaṇas, who were a congregation of Jaina religious mendicants. Bhānuśakti is styled in the record as "the glory of the family of the Sēndrakas"<sup>3</sup>. But the record says nothing more about this dynasty. It is probable that they had been reduced to submission during the glorious reign of Kākusthavarmma, or of his son Śāntivarmma, and remained as dependants of the Kadambas till the decline of their power. That the Kadambas had subordinate rulers under them is made evident by the Talagunda record of Śāntivarmma which remarks that the latter was adorned by the acquisition of three crowns<sup>4</sup>. This we have understood to mean that Śāntivarmma imposed his suzerainty on three neighbouring dynasties. One of these royal families was evidently the Sēndrakas, who are spoken of for the first time in the above mentioned inscription of Harivarmma.

Harivarmma, though not a great monarch in the military sense of the word, was nevertheless one who had the welfare of his subjects at heart. One of his Halsi grants tells us that he was like unto "a moon to the blue lotuses, that were the hearts of all his subjects"<sup>5</sup>. The Sangōḷi plates of his mention that he had been, "initiated into a vow of protecting the subjects"<sup>6</sup>. The three grants that have come down to us are a clear proof that no deserving person or institution ever escaped his notice.

<sup>1</sup> E. I., VI, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 102.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VI, p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 176.

<sup>5</sup> Fleet, l. c.

<sup>6</sup> E. I., XIV, p. 167.

## CHAPTER XV

### Krishnavarmma II

**K**rishnavarmma II was the son and successor of Simhavarmma. He is described in his own Bennahalli plates as having "acquired the wealth of his kingdom by his heroism"<sup>1</sup>. This may perhaps refer to the restoration by him of the fallen fortunes of his family. In fact the Sirsi plates of the same monarch remark that he "gained fame and the fortune of royalty by virtue of his successes in many battles." The record further states that he was anointed at Vaijayanti "during a horse-sacrifice"<sup>2</sup>. From this we may conclude that Krishnavarmma revived the feud of his forefathers and having conquered Harivarmma, the last representative of the elder branch of the Kadambas, ascended the throne at Vaijayanti. Furthermore the fact that Krishnavarmma performed the horse-sacrifice would show that he gradually became so powerful as to impose his overlordship on the neighbouring rulers. This is clearly indicated in his Benṇūr plates, where Krishnavarmma is represented as making a grant of the village of Pelmadi in the Sēndraka-vishaya to the god Mahādēva in the lūṅga village, after having set out on a military expedition from Vaijayanti<sup>3</sup>. The inscription does not tell us against whom this campaign was undertaken. However it is possible to conclude that as the grant was made in the Sēndraka-vishaya the expedition was directed against the latter. It is not unreasonable to suppose that during the confusion that was occasioned by the civil war between Krishnavarmma and Harivarmma

<sup>1</sup> E. C., V, B1, 121.

<sup>2</sup> E. I., XVI, p. 271.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., V, B1, 245.

the Sēndrakas renounced their allegiance to the Kadambas and asserted their independence. Accordingly when Kṛṣṇavarṃma had securely established himself on the throne at Vaijayanti, he proceeded against them; and the fact that he celebrated the horse-sacrifice would show that he succeeded in this campaign.

This important event seems to have taken place after the seventh and before the 19th year of his reign in which his six plates are dated. For the Bennahaḷḷi plates which are dated in his seventh regnal year do not allude to this event at all.

It is not improbable that in the struggle with Harivarṃma, Kṛṣṇavarṃma was helped by the Gangas, who had always befriended this branch of the Kadamba family. The Ganga influence at his court is evidenced by the departure from the traditional style in which the Kadamba grants are inscribed. For instance, the contents of his Beṇṇūr plates differ in some singular respects from his Bennahaḷḷi plates<sup>1</sup>. "They begin", says Mr. Rice, "as do most of the Ganga plates, with *Jitam bhagavatā*," and "the *Swasti* is opposite the third line"<sup>2</sup>.

This friendship between these two ruling families perhaps culminated in the marriage of Kṛṣṇavarṃma's sister to Taḍangāla Mādhava, the King of the Gangas<sup>3</sup>.

Kṛṣṇavarṃma, as it is plain from what has been said, was a remarkably successful monarch. The grant of his grandson Bhōgivarṃma calls him: "A sun in the firmament of this (Kadamba) family"<sup>4</sup>. All the grants of his nephew, the Ganga King Avinīta, accord to him the same honour<sup>5</sup>. His own Bennahaḷḷi plates record that he was "skilled in rightly protecting his subjects"<sup>6</sup>, which would perhaps imply that during his reign the country was rendered safe from the invasions of foreign kings. The Beṇṇūr plates appear to confirm this supposition. For they speak of him as "protecting his subjects," and style him "the destroyer of his enemies in the earth"<sup>7</sup>. The same record also bears witness to his generosity. "Even as in the Yudhisthiras's palace," says it, "so in his, thousands of Brahmans were daily fed in comfort"<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> E. C., V, B1, 245.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., V, Introd., p. III.

<sup>3</sup> For a full discussion of this event the reader is kindly referred to the next chapter.

<sup>4</sup> M. A. R., 1918, p. 40.

<sup>5</sup> E. C., I, No. 1; E. C., XI, Ba, 141; N1, 60; E. C., XII, M1, 110.

<sup>6</sup> E. C., V, B1, 121.

<sup>7</sup> E. C., V, B1, 245.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

## CHAPTER XVI

### A Marriage between the Gangas and the Kadambas

There are many inscriptions of the Ganga kings of Mysore that speak of a marriage alliance between the Kadamba and the Ganga royal families. Some inscriptions of King Avinīta record that he was the son of Koṅgaṇi-Mahādhiraṇja by the beloved sister of the Kadamba King Kṛṣṇavarman<sup>1</sup>. The grants describe Kṛṣṇavarman as the "sun in the firmament of the Kadamba family". But there are no clues in the record to enable one to ascertain who this Kṛṣṇavarman was, whether he was the first king of that name or his great-grandson<sup>2</sup>. We have therefore to fall back upon two hints we discover in the contemporary inscriptions in order to arrive at a satisfactory solution of this riddle. The first is the inscription of the Ganga King Śrīpuruṣa discovered at Halkūr, that gives Ś. 710 or A. D. 788 as the year of the grant. From the study of two other inscriptions of the same Śrīpuruṣa, we conclude that the year 788 A. D. was the 62nd year of his reign<sup>3</sup>.

The second clue is that the Ganga King Durvinīta was the father-in-law of Pulikeśi II<sup>4</sup>. The former, it is evident, had a very long reign; for the Gummareḍḍipura plates are dated in the fortieth year after his accession to the throne<sup>5</sup>. It is also likely that he was

<sup>1</sup> E. C., I, p. 51; M. A. R., 1924, p. 68; *Ibid.*, 1925, p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> In the M. A. R. for the year 1924, pp. 17-18, Kṛṣṇavarman II is said to be the brother of Avinīta's mother. The reasons there pointed out seem to be purely chronological.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VI, Mg, 36; *Ibid.*, IV, Ng, 85; M. A. R., 1918, p. 42.

<sup>4</sup> E. C., VIII, Nr, 35. Cf. Venkataramanaya, *Durvinīta and Vikramaditya. Triveni*, I, pp. 112-120.

<sup>5</sup> M. A. R., 1912, paras 65-69.

partly a contemporary of Kīrttivarmma. We are sure that he was fully contemporary with Pulikeśi. Some years after the latter's death, he restored his grandson, Vikramāditya, the third son of Pulikeśi, to his hereditary throne <sup>1</sup>.

Now we know from the Aihole inscription that Pulikeśi II subdued the Kadambas. The inscription however does not mention the name of the Kadamba king defeated on this occasion.

Among the later Kadamba grants made in the beginning of the 7th century we have one of Mahārāja Bhōgivarṃma. The inscription says that he was "the acquirer of an extensive kingdom by the strength of his own arm" <sup>2</sup>. This may be taken to mean that Mahārāja Bhōgivarṃma re-established the supremacy of the Kadambas, lost perhaps in the time of his predecessor. In fact we know from the Chalukya grants that Kīrttivarmma, the father of Pulikeśi, subjugated the Kadambas. The same Aihole inscription of Pulikeśi says that Kīrttivarmma was "the night of doom to... the Kadambas" <sup>3</sup>. The grant of Ādityvarṃma, the son of Pulikeśi, records that Kīrttivarmma established the banner of his fame at Banavasi <sup>4</sup>. It is very probable that the Kadamba king who was defeated on this occasion was Ajavarṃma, Bhōgivarṃma's father. It cannot be Kṛṣṇavarṃma, the father of Ajavarṃma, for he is described in the inscription of Bhōgivarṃma as "a sun in the firmament of this (the Kadamba) family" <sup>5</sup>, which undoubtedly means that he augmented the glory of the Kadamba dynasty; while there are no epithets whatever to qualify Ajavarṃma.

Furthermore we know from the Aihole inscription that when Mangalēśa tried to secure the succession after his death for his own son, there ensued a bitter discord and a civil war between him and Pulikeśi. This so weakened the central government that all the feudatory kings rose in rebellion and asserted their independence. Thus it is possible that "when the whole world was enveloped by the darkness of enemies" <sup>6</sup>, which spelled disaster to the Empire, Bhōgivarṃma also renounced his allegiance to the Chalukyas. The

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VIII, Nr. 35. Cf. Venkataramanaya, o. c.

<sup>2</sup> M. A. R., 1918, p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> E. I., VI, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., XI, p. 68.

<sup>5</sup> M. A. R., 1918, l. c.

<sup>6</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., V, p. 72.

Tagare plates, as seen above, call him "an acquirer of an extensive kingdom by the strength of his own arm" <sup>1</sup>. This seems to prove that Bhōgivarṃma recovered part of the Empire lost by his father, and with it the independence of his own kingdom. In fact the campaign of Pulikeśi against Banavasi, directed as it was in the first years of his reign, suggests that it was undertaken in order to reconquer the former possessions of his family.

We are now in a position to understand that Durvinīta, Pulikeśi and Bhōgivarṃma were all contemporaries. Durvinīta, as we know from the Ganga inscriptions <sup>2</sup>, was the son of Avinīta. Hence this Avinīta seems to have been a contemporary of Ajavarṃma. Avinīta, who had also a long reign <sup>3</sup>, seems to have ruled in the time of his uncle Kṛishṇavarṃma as well. In his Mercara copper-plates Avinīta calls himself "the beloved sister's son of Kṛishṇavarṃma Mahādhīrāja" <sup>4</sup>. This shows that Kṛishṇavarṃma was then reigning, or at most had reigned a few years before. It is possible to deduce from this that Kṛishṇavarṃma's reign was synchronic with that of Mādhava II, the father of Avinīta.

Now as regards the first point, we find that the inscription of Śrīpurusha is dated Ś. 710 or 788 A. D. He seems to have had a very long reign, because, as stated above, the year 788 corresponds to the 62nd year of his reign. This calculation gives 728 A. D. as the year that witnessed his accession to the throne. We may suppose that his father Śivamāra and his grand-father Bhūvikrama reigned in the first quarter of the eighth century (700-728). Bhūvikrama's father Śrīvikrama must have reigned therefore in the fourth quarter of the seventh century (675-700), and the latter's father Mushkara in the third quarter of the same century (650-675). We have seen above that Durvinīta, who was the father of Mushkara, reigned for an exceptionally long period. The Gummaredḍipura plates are in fact dated in the 40th year of his reign, and it is possible that he lived a few years more. It is not improbable that he was the contemporary of Mangalēśa, Pulikeśi and Vikramāditya. He may have reigned therefore for full half a century, say from 600 till 653 A. D. or thereabout. The dates assigned to these monarchs by antiquarians of repute are in perfect agreement with the chrono-

<sup>1</sup> M. A. R., 1918, I. c.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VIII, Nr. 35; XII, Ml, 110; J. A., XIV, p. 229.

<sup>3</sup> His Dodda-Ballapur grant is dated in the 29th year of his reign.

<sup>4</sup> E. C., IX, Dv, 68; E. C., I, p. 51.

logy we have adopted for Durvinīta. We said above that he was the father-in-law of Pulikeśi II. He must therefore have been older than Pulikeśi, to have a daughter of marriageable age to be given in wedlock to the Chalukya King. Both Mr. Rice and Dr. Fleet agree in the opinion that Pulikeśi reigned between 609 and 642 A. D. Durvinīta may have come to the throne some time before Pulikeśi and as he helped his grandson Vikramāditya, the son of Pulikeśi, in re-gaining his ancestral kingdom, his reign must have extended till the year 655, at which date we begin to feel that the position of Vikramāditya on the throne was safe<sup>1</sup>. The Gummaredipura plates which are dated in the 40th year of his reign form the internal evidence to show that his reign was really a very long one. We may therefore rightly conclude that his reign lasted from the year 600 till the year 653 A. D. or thereabout.

His father Avinīta seems similarly to have had a very long reign. Several inscriptions state that he was crowned, when an infant on his mother's lap<sup>2</sup>; and the Doddā-Ballāpur grant is dated in the 29th year of his reign<sup>3</sup>. We may suppose that he reigned for a further period of 10 or 11 years and accordingly his reign lasted for about 40 years. Indeed, there is no reason to suppose that he died at the age of 29 or 30 years. Avinīta would consequently have reigned from 560 down to 600 A. D.

Mādhava II, the father of Avinīta, probably reigned from 535 to 560 A. D., which would make him a contemporary of Kṛishṇavarmma II.

It seems it could therefore be taken as proved, both chronologically and by referring to the events of history, that the Kadamba King Kṛishṇavarmma II and the Ganga King Taḍangāla Mādhava were contemporaries. We should now remember that both the Kadamba and the Ganga kings ruled over Mysore, the one in the north and the other in the south, and in consequence they were neighbours. It stands to reason, therefore, that it was the sister of Kṛishṇavarmma II whom Mādhava married. It is absolutely impossible that Taḍangāla Mādhava who was a contemporary of

<sup>1</sup> Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., X, Mr. 72. 'This inscription says that he "obtained the honours of the kingdom on the couch of the lap of his divine mother"'. Ibid., IX, DB, 68; etc. Cf. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 106.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., IX, DB, 67.

Kṛishṇavarmma II, should have married the sister of Kṛishṇavarmma I, the great-grandfather of the second King of the same name.

Finally at least one of the titles given to Kṛishṇavarmma II is similar to that given to the King Kṛishṇavarmma who is said in the Ganga plates to be the mother's brother of Avinīta. All the Ganga plates call Kṛishṇavarmma "a sun in the firmament of the Kadamba family"<sup>1</sup>. The same expression is met with in the Tagare plates of Bhōgivarṃma, the grandson of Kṛishṇavarmma II, wherein the latter is described as "a sun in the firmament of this (the Kadamba) family"<sup>2</sup>.

We may therefore conclude by stating that the Kadamba King Kṛishṇavarmma who married his sister to the Ganga King Mādhava was Kṛishṇavarmma II, and not Kṛishṇavarmma I, as stated by Mr. Rice and others.

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<sup>1</sup> *E. C.*, I, p. 51, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *M. A. R.*, 1918, p. 40.

## CHAPTER XVII

### Ajavarmma

**K**rishnavarmma was succeeded by his son Ajavarmma. We have no inscriptions of this King, from which we deduce that his reign was very short. It is also possible to conclude from the absence of inscriptions that he occupied an inferior position all his life. In fact the grant of his son Bhōgivarman seems to imply this, as it does not give the title Mahārāja to Ajavarmma<sup>1</sup>.

These are real facts, which are nevertheless not easily explained after the study of the glorious reign of Kṛishnavarmma II, Ajavarmma's father. How could the Empire descend so suddenly to this state? Perhaps some Chalukya inscriptions will enlighten us on the point. Thus we are told in some of the Chalukya inscriptions that Kīrttivarmma, the father of Pulikeśi II, subjugated the Kadambas. The Aihole inscription of Pulikeśi II says that Kīrttivarmma was the "night of doom to... the Kadambas"<sup>2</sup>. The grant of Ādit-yavarmma, the son of Pulikeśi records that Kīrttivarmma established the banner of his fame at Banavasi<sup>3</sup>. The Yewūr tablet inscription avers that he was "the axe to sever the column which was the famous and mighty Kadambas"<sup>4</sup>. It is very probable that the Kadamba King that was defeated on this occasion was Ajavarmma. It cannot be Kṛishnavarmma, the father of Ajavarmma, for the reasons given above would not admit this fact<sup>5</sup>. If this defeat took place at the beginning of Ajavarmma's reign, the obscurity of this monarch is explained without much difficulty. It is most likely that throughout his life he remained a simple Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, under the Chalukyas.

<sup>1</sup> M. A. R., 1918, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> E. I., VI, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., XI, p. 68. The Dantabād plates of Jagadekamalla style him "the breaker of the pillar of the famous Kadambas." *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. 2, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., VIII, p. 13; E. C., VII, Sb, 571; X, KI, 15.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. ante, p. 54.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### Bhogivarmma

**B**hogivarmma succeeded his father Ajavarmma. We have already noticed that in the reign of the latter the Kadambas had met with reverses and had become the feudatories of the Chalukyas. Accordingly when Bhogivarmma came to the throne, he found the fortunes of his family at a very low ebb.

But Bhogivarmma was a man of indefatigable energy. He tried all means in his power to restore the dynasty to its pristine glory. An epigraphical record of his reign enthusiastically chronicles that he acquired "an extensive kingdom by the strength of his own arm," and "subdued his enemies"<sup>1</sup>. In this arduous task of restoring the Kadamba power, Bhogivarmma also seems to have been helped by good fortune on many occasions. Thus it was probably in the course of the civil war between Mangalēśa and his nephew Pulikeśi when "the whole world was enveloped by the darkness of enemies"<sup>2</sup>, that Bhogivarmma freed the Kadamba Empire from the Chalukya yoke. He ruled as an independent monarch during the period of anarchy and confusion.

Bhogivarmma's success however was short-lived. For as soon as Pulikeśi was free from troubles at home, he started a campaign which had for its object the recovery of lost territories<sup>3</sup>. He laid siege to the city of Vaijayanti and stormed the citadel in spite of the stout resistance offered by the Kadamba garrison. "When he was besieging Vanavāsī," says the Aihole inscription, "which for a girdle

<sup>1</sup> M. A. R., 1918, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VIII, p. 242; E. I. VI, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Pulikeśi started to conquer these territories after the defeat of Appayika and Govinda, mentioned in the Aihole inscription. Cf. E. I., VI, p. 9.

has the rows of *hansa* birds that sport on the high waves of the Varadā as their play-place and which by its wealth rivalled the city of the gods, that fortress on land, having the surface of the earth all around covered with the great sea of his army, to the looker-on seemed at once converted into a fortress in the water"<sup>1</sup>. It is possible that Bhōgivarṃma with his son Viṣṇuvārṃma perished in the battle, for with him the first Kadamba dynasty practically becomes extinct.

It is clear from the epigraphical records that during his brief rule, Bhōgivarṃma raised his kingdom to a position of eminence among the neighbouring principalities. It is recorded in the Aihole inscription that the city of Banavasi "by its wealth rivalled the city of the gods." Bhōgivarṃma's own Tagare plates affirm that he possessed "many enjoyments of various kinds procured by victory over enemies"<sup>2</sup>.

We possess by a lucky accident a pleasing description of the city of Banavasi at this period from the pen of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang. He visited Banavasi, which he calls Kong-kin-na-pu-lo<sup>3</sup>, after the defeat and death of Bhōgivarṃma at the hands of the

<sup>1</sup> E. I., VI, pp. 9-10.

<sup>2</sup> M. A. R., 1918, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> The identification of Kong-kin-na-pu-lo (Konkanapura) of Hiuen Tsiang with Banavasi was first suggested by Mons. Saint Martin; but it was never accepted by the scientific world. Cf. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, II, p. 238. Nevertheless this identification seems to be accurate. For the direction in which the pilgrim travelled from the South to Mo-ho-la-ch'a or Pulikesi's kingdom seems to suggest that he crossed the kingdom of the Kadambas of which Banavasi was the capital. Secondly, the fact mentioned in his narrative that he proceeded northwards from the city of Konkanapura before entering the Mo-ho-la-ch'a country indicates that the city was in the south. This makes it impossible to identify it with Goa, which is in the west. Thirdly, the very name of the city shews that it was the chief city of Southern Konkan, where there was then no other city as important as Banavasi. Finally the Chinese pilgrim's assertion that the city of Konkanapura was bordered by forests on the north and the south perfectly agrees with the geographical surroundings of Banavasi. Even in later centuries this city seems to have borne the name of Kongunapura, for an inscription of the Sinda chieftain Chavunda II, dated in A. D. 1162-3, speaks of Konguna, as apparently the capital of the Banavasi country, Kadambalige and Hayve, which always constituted the Kadamba kingdom. Fleet, *Sanscrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, p. 270.

Chalukya King Pulikeśi. The reason for this conclusion is that Hiuen Tsiang in his account of Pulikeśi and his capital, which he visited shortly afterwards, refers to the defeat of the great king Harsha by the former<sup>1</sup>. Now we know from the Aihole inscription, which gives Pulikeśi's conquests in chronological order, that the victory over Harsha was gained by Pulikeśi after he had subdued the Kadambas. Furthermore the Chinese pilgrim, while describing Koṅkaṇapura does not at all allude to the ruler of this kingdom. This evidently shows that the kingdom had no king at this time, as it had been conquered by Pulikeśi and annexed to his kingdom.

To return to the narrative, from the Drāvida country Hiuen Tsiang proceeded to the Koṅkaṇapura kingdom. He describes the country as being 5000 *li* and its capital about 30 *li* in circuit<sup>2</sup>. The land was very fertile and rich in vegetation. It was regularly cultivated and produced large crops. The disposition of the people, he continues, was ardent and quick. They loved learning and esteemed virtue and talent. There were several Buddhist monasteries in the country. In the capital, close to the royal palace was a large monastery with about 300 monks who were all men of distinction. The convent had a great *vihāra* more than a hundred feet in height. It contained a precious tiara of Buddha, which was nearly two feet high, adorned with gems and enclosed in a case; on fast-days it was exhibited and worshipped. In the temple of another monastery near the capital was a sandalwood image of Maitrēya made by the Arhat Śrutaviṃśatikōṭi. Near the capital on the north side was a wood of *Tāla* trees about thirty *li* round, and within the wood a *stūpa* round which according to local tradition, four former Buddhas had walked for exercise. To the east of the capital was another, which had associations with the Buddha's preaching. Near the capital on the south-west was a *stūpa* said to have been built by Aśoka, on the spot where Śrutaviṃśatikōṭi made miraculous exhibitions and had many converts. Not far from this place there were remains of a monastery built by the same Arhat<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, pp. 256-257.

<sup>2</sup> We cannot estimate the extent of the kingdom from these figures, for the *li*, which has been taken as the unit of measure, differs in different places in China.

<sup>3</sup> Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, pp. 253-255; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, II, pp. 237-238.

## CHAPTER XIX

### Madhuvarmma

It is evident from the Chalukyan records that Pulikeśi II's reign ended in a disaster. The Kūram plates of the time of the Pallava King Paramēśvaravarmma I relate that Narasimhavarmma I, one of his predecessors, completely vanquished the army of Pulikeśi who had invaded the Tamil countries, in the battles of Pariyaḷa, Maḡimangala and Sūramāra<sup>1</sup>. Shortly afterwards Narasimha, having decided to lead a counter-invasion into the Chalukya territory, equipped an expeditionary force and entrusted it to the command of Śiṟu-Tonḡa, otherwise known as Paranjōti<sup>2</sup>. It may be ascertained from other Pallava records that the latter marched against the Chalukya capital and "defeating the host of his enemies took from them the pillar of victory, standing in the centre of Vātāpi"<sup>3</sup>. According to the above-mentioned Kūram plates the Pallavas laid waste Bādāmi, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that Pulikeśi II was killed on this occasion<sup>4</sup>. During the interval between this expedition (assigned by Dr. Fleet to A. D. 642)<sup>5</sup> and the accession of Vikramāditya I, his son, there was absolute chaos prevailing in the empire of the Chalukyas.

During this period of Chalukya decline, Kaṇnāṭaka would seem to have been invaded and partly annexed by the Valabhi dynasty of Gujerat. This is shown by a *viragal*<sup>6</sup> found at the village of Gaddemane in Sāgar taluqua, which commemorates the

<sup>1</sup> S. I. I., I, p. 152.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gopalan, *History of the Pallavas of Kanchi*, p. 98.

<sup>3</sup> S. I. I., II, p. 508, v. 11; *Ibid.*, I, p. 155; E. I., III, p. 280.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 207.

<sup>5</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 359.

<sup>6</sup> M. A. R., 1923, p. 83.

death of one Pettanī Satyānka, a commander in the army of Silāditya, a title commonly applied to the Valabhi kings<sup>1</sup>. This Satyānka is said to have been slain in a battle with a King called Mahēndra who is identified with Mahēndravarmma I, of the Pallava family<sup>2</sup>. But the identification is not accurate; for Mahēndravarmma I having reigned from A. D. 600-630 was the contemporary of Pulikeśi II in the early part of his rule; and accordingly we will be forced to the absurd conclusion that the kingdom of Pulikeśi was overrun by the Valabhis in the heyday of the Chalukya power<sup>3</sup>. Hence it is more reasonable to identify Mahēndra with the second Pallava King of that name. This would imply that on the death of the great King Narasimha, which occurred somewhere after A. D. 650, the Valabhi King, taking advantage of the change of rulers, invaded the Pallava territory. He inflicted a crushing defeat on Mahēndravarmma II and made himself master of the northern part of the Pallava dominions, which had lately been annexed by Narasimha after defeating and killing Pulikeśi. This fact will probably explain the obscurity of Mahēndravarmma II, about whom the Pallava inscriptions say practically nothing.

<sup>1</sup> He has been wrongly identified in the *Report* with Harshavardhana of Kanauj. The latter never succeeded in penetrating to the south of Reva, i. e. the Narbada, where Pulikeśi's armies were encamped. Cf. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 350; *E. I.*, VI, p. 10; *J. A.*, V, p. 72. Further, the defeat inflicted on Harsha by Pulikeśi, as recorded in the Aihole inscription, was so great that he would not have ventured on one more campaign to the south. An earlier expedition than the one mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang and the Aihole inscription is likewise out of question, since Harsha had to contend against many enemies before he made his position secure in northern India. Hence the eulogy of Mayura, the supposed father-in-law of Bana, in which it is stated that Kuntala, Chola and Kanchi were among the countries defeated by Harsha, is not to be taken seriously. It can only be regarded as a "praise with conventional style of a poet given to punning and without any historical accuracy". *J. R. A. S.*, 1925, p. 487. However, it may be argued that Silāditya is a title also used in connection with Harsha. But against this we have the undisputed fact that Harsha is always called in the southern inscriptions 'Sri Haraha' and never 'Sri Silāditya'.

<sup>2</sup> *M. A. R.*, 1923, p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> Nor can it be maintained that this invasion took place during the period of anarchy and confusion following the civil war between Pulikeśi II and Mangalesa. For if that was the case, the Aihole inscription which mentions the appearance of two invaders, Appayika and Govinda, at this time would certainly have added the name of the third.

Who this Valabhi King was it is not easy to say. However, there is a Valabhi King who is described in the records as the "lord of the earth, whose (*i. e.* earth's) two breasts are the Sahya and Vindhya mountains whose tops clothed in black clouds appear like (her) nipples"<sup>1</sup>. Now it is well known that the Sahyadri mountains stand for the Western Ghats, and the whole passage may be taken to indicate his territories which stretched far beyond Kārnāṭaka. This King was Śrī Derabhaṭṭa also called Silāditya.

It is possible that on the retirement of the Pallavas to the south, Madhuvarmma, the last scion of the early Kadamba branch, carved for himself an independent kingdom around the ancestral capital of Banavasi. There is an inscription of this King in the Shikarpur taluqua which contains a grant made to a Brahman named Nārāyaṇaśarmma<sup>2</sup>. This record gives us no clue to establish the relationship between him and the other Kadamba kings whom we have spoken about. But there can be no doubt regarding the fact that he belonged to the same family as the latter. Mr. Rice places this record on palaeographical grounds in A. D. 500. But this reason alone is not sufficient to make us certain about the date. At any rate it shows that the record belonged to the time of the first dynasty of the Kadambas. Furthermore the inscription contains the specific titles of the early Kadambas, namely "who were purified by meditation on Svāmi-Mahāsēna and the group of mothers, of Mānavya-gōtra and Haritiputras." Finally this is the only Kadamba King who is not genealogically connected with the other kings of the same family. Accordingly these details might suggest that he was a son either of Bhōgivarmma or of Vishṇuvarmma, who, we have supposed, perished with the former.

Madhuvarmma seems to have ruled without interference for a few years down to the days that witnessed the accession of Pulikeśi's son Vikramāditya. This King with the help of his grand-father, the Ganga King Durvinīta, eventually re-established the supremacy of the Chalukyas<sup>3</sup>. Vikramāditya, as soon as his position on the throne was secure, started conquering the lost territories of his father. One of the kings whom he completely routed and presum-

<sup>1</sup> Mandalik, *Three Valabhi Copper-plates with Remarks*, J.B.B.R.A.S., XI, p. 352; E. J., I, p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 66.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Venkataramanaiya, *Durvinīta and Vikramāditya I*, Triveni, p. 117.

ably dispossessed of his kingdom was, we suspect, the Kadamba Madhuvarmma. In fact the Lakshmēśvar inscription of one of his successors claims that Vikramāditya I "cleft open with the thunderbolt which was his prowess the overweening precipitation of the Pāṇḍya and Chola and Kēraḷa and Kadamba and other kings"<sup>1</sup>.

Nothing else is known about the early Kadamba kings. The end of this dynasty is enveloped in a cloud of silence.

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<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Sanscrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I A., VII, p. 111.

## CHAPTER XX

### The Chronology of the Early Kadamba Monarchs

**I**t is not easy to fix the chronology of the Kadambas. The existing grants of the Kadamba sovereigns are not dated according to any era, but follow the regnal years of their respective donors. Attempts have, nevertheless been made to ascertain the dates of these inscriptions on palaeographical grounds. But to fix the age of these records on palaeographical evidence alone is not a particularly reliable method of investigation. Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil appears to be of the same opinion, for he says: "We have come to the conclusion that the form of the alphabet is not an absolute test for the determination of the age of antiquities and that inscriptions which by their alphabets seem to belong to different epochs, can in reality be contemporaneous" <sup>1</sup>. However the study of the other contemporary dynasties that ruled over Kārnāṭaka have led us to certain conclusions which are not altogether unsatisfactory.

We said in the course of our narrative that Krishṇavarṃma of the Kadamba family married his sister to the Ganga King Tadan-gāla Mādhava. It was there shewn that the Kadamba King above-mentioned was Krishṇavarṃma II and not the first King of that name. In establishing this hypothesis on a sure basis we were helped not a little by the grants of the Ganga King Śrīpuruṣa. Now this Ganga King, of whose date we are absolutely certain, ruled in the eighth century. Following up the genealogy of these monarch we were able to show that Avinīta, one of the predecessors of Śrīpuruṣa, ruled from A. D. 560-600, and we gave A.D. 535-560 as the possible period over which the reign of Mādhava, the father of Avinīta, extended.

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<sup>1</sup> Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Pallava Antiquities*, I, p. 74.

We also proved in the course of our discussion that Durvinīta (the son of Avinīta), Pulikeśi and Bhōgivarṃma (the son of Ajavarṃma) were all contemporaries; and we inferred from this fact that Avinīta was at least partly a contemporary of Ajavarṃma, the son of Kṛishṇavarṃma II. Further from an epithet given to the latter in the inscriptions of Avinīta, we concluded that Kṛishṇavarṃma was reigning in the days of Avinīta or had ruled a few years before. For the expression that Avinīta was "the beloved sister's son of Kṛishṇavarṃma Mahādhirāja" would certainly lead one to no other conclusion.

An astrological phenomenon mentioned in the Sangōḷi plates of Harivarṃma lends further support to our theory. That Harivarṃma ruled in the 6th century there can hardly be any doubt. Now according to the observations of Mr. K. N. Dikshit this remarkable phenomenon could have taken place only thrice during the 6th century. "On consulting Diwan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai of Madras", says he, "I found during the whole of the sixth century A. D. there were only three years in which the above astronomical phenomenon occurred; viz., during A. D. 507, 526 and 545"<sup>1</sup>. The first of these years is out of the question, as being too early for Harivarṃma. Of the other two we are inclined to prefer the year 545 as more probable than the year 526, and this agrees perfectly well with the chronology we have adopted. Accordingly the Sangōḷi plates being dated in the 8th year of his reign, Harivarṃma must have come to the throne in 537 A. D. Kṛishṇavarṃma was either already reigning as King at Triparvata or succeeded to his father's kingdom a few years later. At all events it is abundantly clear that he had reigned some years at Triparvata before he finally overthrew his relative Harivarṃma. This seems to have culminated in the anointing of Kṛishṇavarṃma as Mahārāja at Vaijayanti, during a horse sacrifice, which important event took place somewhere after the years 545 A. D. It is clear from what has been said that Kṛishṇavarṃma II had a fairly long reign. It will not be too much, if we assign to him a reign of 25 years, for the Sirsi plates of this sovereign are dated in the 19th year of his reign; and it is possible that he reigned five or six years more.

Kṛishṇavarṃma would thus appear to have ruled from about 540-565 A. D. when he was succeeded by his son Ajavarṃma. We

<sup>1</sup> E. I., XIV, p. 165.

may suppose that this monarch was in undisturbed possession of the throne for a few years. But before the close of the decade he had to contend with a new enemy of the Kadambas in the person of the formidable Kīrttivarṃma I, the Chalukya King. Our reason for believing that it was Ajavarṃma and not Kṛṣṇavarṃma that was worsted by Kīrttivarṃma is that while Kṛṣṇavarṃma is highly extolled in the grant of his grand-son Bhōgivarṃma, Ajavarṃma's name occurs without any *birudas* at all. The inscription says: "A sun in the firmament of this family was Kṛṣṇavarṃma-mahārāja, whose son was Ajavarṃma"<sup>1</sup>. After this event Ajavarṃma continued to rule over his kingdom as a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara of the Chalukya Emperors, and his rule as a feudatory ruler seems to have extended to the first years of the seventh century.

It is certain that Bhōgivarṃma ascended the throne of Vaijayanti before the year 609. We are almost sure that he succeeded to the dominions of his father during, or just before, the civil war that ensued between Mangalēśa and Pulikeśi. We said above that he probably took advantage of the confusion consequent on the civil war and renounced his allegiance to the Chalukyas. He must therefore, have succeeded to the throne about A. D. 605 or 606. He ruled as an independent monarch till the year 610, when he was defeated and perhaps slain by Pulikeśi. With him the first Kadamba dynasty virtually comes to an end; and though we are told about the existence of a son in one of his inscriptions, this prince never appears as a ruling sovereign. It is possible that he perished with his father in battle.

We have almost settled the chronology of the later Kadamba kings, beginning with Harivarṃma and Kṛṣṇavarṃma. Now we know that Harivarṃma reigned for a very long time. The Ajjibad-Sirsi plates are dated in the 35th year of his reign<sup>2</sup> and it is likely that having come to the throne when sufficiently young he reigned about 40 years and died in 537 A. D. This would take us as far back as 497.

We said above that on the death of his father, Mṛigēśa, the throne of Vaijayanti was occupied for a time by Mandhātrivarṃma to the exclusion of the heir-apparent Ravivarṃma. We have two grants of this Mandhātri dated respectively in the second and the

<sup>1</sup> *M. A. R.*, 1918, p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> *E. I.*, XVI, p. 268; *Progress Report*, A. S. W. I., 1917-18, p. 35.

fifth years of his reign. We are aware that Ravivarṃma was very young, when he ascended the throne and this probably tempted Viṣṇuvārṃma to make a bid for the throne of Vaijayanti. This fact shows that Ravivarṃma did not allow the usurper to remain in peaceful possession of the kingdom for a long time, but asserted his rights at the earliest opportunity. Accordingly we may give this monarch a reign of seven years at the most and this will bring us to 490 A. D.

It is probable that Mrigēśavarṃma did not reign for a long time. The records that we possess do not go beyond his eighth regnal year. We may give him a reign of fifteen years, from 475-490 A. D.

Śāntivarṃma, the father of Mrigēśa, probably ruled for a period of 25 years. It seems likely that he was far advanced in age when he passed away. For, as we shall presently show, both of his brothers died during the short reign of his son Mrigēśa.

We have already remarked that on the death of Śāntivarṃma, Kṛṣṇavarṃma and Kumāravārṃma, his brothers, established for themselves independent kingdoms, the one in the south and the other in the east. But both Kṛṣṇavarṃma and Kumāravārṃma died during the reign of Mrigēśavarṃma. For we have mentioned the undisputed fact that Viṣṇuvārṃma the son of Kṛṣṇavarṃma was installed on the throne through the help of a Pallava monarch. From this we concluded that Mrigēśavarṃma, who was then reigning at Vaijayanti, probably tried to prevent his accession and annexed the northern territories to his kingdom. That Kumāravārṃma also died in the reign of Mrigēśa is clear from the fact that his son Mandhātri, usurped the throne of Vaijayanti on the death of Mrigēśa. Thus we may give to these brothers of Śāntivarṃma a period of ten years each.

The period of rule that we assign to the kings that reigned before Śāntivarṃma is largely imaginary. However we are guided with regard to this conjecture by two facts that we come across in the history of Southern India. Mayūravārṃma, as stated in the account of his reign, took advantage of the confusion caused by Samudra Gupta's southern expedition and set himself up as an independent ruler. This southern expedition of Samudra Gupta occurred between the years 340 and 350 A. D. We may therefore, put down 345 A. D., as the possible date when Mayūravārṃma founded the Kadamba dynasty. The second clue is furnished by one of the grants of Yuvamahārāja Kākustha issued from Palāśika, which is dated in the 80th victorious year. "The year purports by

strict translation" says Dr. Fleet, who first published this inscription, "to be his own eightieth year. But it cannot be the eightieth year of his *Yuvarāja*-ship; and, even if such a style of dating were usual, it can hardly be even the eightieth year of his life. It must therefore be the eightieth year from the *paṭṭabandha* of his ancestor Mayūravarma which is mentioned in the Tālgund, inscription" <sup>4</sup>. Accordingly this seems to be the only attempt hitherto found in the Kadamba inscriptions to create a new system of reckoning which could be called Kadamba era. We have remarked that the above grant was made, when Kākustha was governing as *Yuvarāja* or "junior king" at Palāśika. We know from the Talagunda inscription that King Raghu was the brother of Kākustha, and on his death was succeeded by the latter. We may perhaps infer from this that Kākusthavarma issued these Halsi plates, when he was ruling as viceroy under his brother King Raghu, and that he bore the title of *Yuvarāja*. This would mean that the eightieth victorious year, mentioned in the plates, fell somewhere within the reign of Raghu. Possibly it corresponds to some of the last years of his reign, when having no hopes of getting an heir, King Raghu appointed his brother Kākustha heir-apparent. Thus as Mayūravarma founded the kingdom in about 345 A.D., this eightieth year of victory will be 425 A. D. We may give five years more to Raghu; for when Kākusthavarma made the grant, he was still the *Yuvarāja*.

Now the fact that Raghu was succeeded by his brother Kākustha would mean that the period of the former was rather brief. We might therefore give him a reign of ten years, and this will bring us to A. D. 420 as the possible year when he inaugurated his rule.

The remaining 75 years may be distributed among the first three sovereigns of the dynasty, giving them a period of 25 years each.

The gap of twenty years between the close of Raghu's rule in A. D. 430 and the beginning of the reign of Śāntivarma in A.D. 450 is filled up by the reign of Kākustha. We give him this short period, for he must have passed middle age when he succeeded his brother.

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<sup>4</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 291.

P A R T III

**Banavasi Under Foreign  
Domination**



## CHAPTER I

### Banavasi Under the Chalukyas

**T**he fortunes of the Kadambas suffered an eclipse when they were vanquished and dispossessed of their kingdom by the Chalukya King Palikeśi II. There is a blank of almost 250 years in the history of the Kadambas from A. D. 607 to 973-74. In this blank period of their history the ancient capital of Banavasi apparently changed many hands.

The earliest mention of the Banavasi province after the Kadamba downfall is in an inscription of the Ālupa king Guṇasāgara, where it appears under the name of Kadamba-maṇḍala. This King is placed at about 675 A. D., and the grant represents him as the ruler of the Kadamba-maṇḍala<sup>1</sup>.

How this province which obviously included the principal part of the Kadamba dominions, passed into the hands of the Ālupas will be clear from a brief review of the Chalukya connections with the Ālupas.

The political relations between the Chalukyas and the Ālupas can be traced as far back as 567 A. D. The Mahākūta inscription of Mangalēśa which is dated in this year gives a list of the victories of Kīrttivarmma I, his brother, which included those over the kings of Vaṅga, Aṅga, Kaṭṭiṅga, Vātṭūra, Magadha, Madraka, Kēraḷa, Gāṅga, Mūshaka, Pāṇḍya, Dramiḷa, Chōḷiya, Āḷuka and Vaijayan-ti<sup>2</sup>.

The Ālupas however, were not completely subjugated by Kīrttivarmma I; for the conflict seems to have been carried in the

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VI, Kp, 38.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., XIX, p. 19; E. I., VII, p. 3.

reign of the next Chalukya King Mangalēśa, who along with the Kalachuriās, is reported to have subdued the Alupas<sup>1</sup>.

The Alupas henceforward seem not to have been recalcitrant, and accordingly the records of subsequent kings mention them as enjoying the status of feudatory chiefs under their Chalukya overlords. Thus for instance the Aihole inscription of Pulikeśi II, dated in Ś. 556 (expired) or A. D. 634-5, records that although "in former days they had acquired happiness by renouncing the seven sins, the Ganga and Alupa lords, being subdued by his dignity, were always intoxicated by drinking the nectar of close attendance upon him"<sup>2</sup>. This would probably imply that during the civil war between Pulikeśi and Mangalēśa, the Alupas along with other kings once more asserted their independence, but when the Chalukya Pulikeśi emerged victorious out of the struggle and started his career of conquest, the Alupas of their own accord made their submission to him. That they continued to be in this state of servitude under the Chalukyas, even when the fortunes of the latter were at a low ebb after the disastrous end of Pulikeśi's reign, is clear from a record of Vinayāditya dated in 694 A. D. About him the inscription says: "By him the Pallavas, Kaḷabhras, Kēraḷas, Haihayas, Viḷas, Maḷavas, Chōḷas, Pāṇḍyas, and others were brought into service equally with the Alupas, Gangas and others of old standing"<sup>3</sup>.

It is possible that Pulikeśi II, after reducing the Kadambas to subjection, wished to render them incapable of further mischief by completely destroying their power. To realise this end he deprived them of their possessions which he parcelled out among his faithful feudatories. We conclude this from the fact that the Alupas received the Kadamba-maṇḍala<sup>4</sup>, which probably consisted of the major portion of the Kadamba kingdom; while the Sēndrakas, who were connected by marriage with the Chalukya family<sup>5</sup>, were invested with the government of the Nagar-khaṇḍa district, i. e. Nagar-khaṇḍa division of the Banavasi-nāḍ<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> *E. I.*, VI, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> *E. C.*, XI, Dg, 66; Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VII, p. 303.

<sup>4</sup> *E. C.*, VI, Kp, 38.

<sup>5</sup> *E. I.*, III, p. 52.

<sup>6</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., XIX, p. 145.

The earliest name of the Ālupa monarchs according to the inscriptions hitherto found, is that of Kundavarṃmarasa, who is described as the predecessor of Guṇasāgara in the above-mentioned Kigga record<sup>1</sup>. He was probably the Ālupa King who became the vassal of the Chalukya Pulikeśi II and was appointed by him to rule over the Kadamba-maṇḍala or the Banavasi province. For if Guṇasāgara could be placed at about 675 A. D.<sup>2</sup>, we may presume that his predecessor Kundavarṃmarasa was a contemporary of Pulikeśi, who lived from 609-642 A. D.

The next ruler of the Kadamba-maṇḍala was Guṇasāgara who, we may suppose, was the son of Kundavarṃma. The Kigga inscription above referred to contains a grant made by this King to the Kilgaṇa god, and incidentally mentions the names of his Queen, the Mahādēvi and his son Chitravāhana<sup>3</sup>. We may conclude that he was a dependent of the Chalukya King Vikramāditya I.

Guṇasāgara was succeeded by his son, the above-mentioned Chitravāhana I<sup>4</sup>. It is not possible to ascertain when the latter ascended the throne, but it is at all events evident that he was a contemporary and subordinate of the Chalukya King Vinayāditya, for when that monarch had encamped at Chitrasēdu, the Ālupa King requested him to grant a village called Saluvoge, in the Vishaya of Eḍevolal, to a Brahman called Divākaraśarmma, a scholar proficient in the Vēdas. The date of the inscription is June 22nd, 692 A. D.<sup>5</sup>. Two years later, when the same Vinayāditya was at his victorious camp at Karanjapatra, Chitravāhana induced his overlord to grant the village of Kīru-Kāgāmāsi to a Brahman named Isānaśarmma of the Vatsya gōtra<sup>6</sup>.

Chitravāhana I seems to have been a successful ruler. He was also called Chitravāha and bore the title of Mahārāja. He ruled over the Banavasi province and his own hereditary district of Eḍevolal<sup>7</sup>. It appears from an inscription of his found at Kigga, that he also held Pombuchcha<sup>8</sup>. We may infer from the two inscriptions above referred to, that he was a patron of learning and a promoter of religion in his kingdom. The fact that the Chalukya King granted his request on the two occasions would perhaps show that he was

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VI, Kp, 38.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 571.

<sup>5</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 571; Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., XIX, p. 152.

<sup>6</sup> E. C., XI, Dg, 66.

<sup>7</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 571.

<sup>8</sup> E. C., VI, Kp, 37.

enjoying the special favour of his overlord. It is also likely that the latter counted on the Ālupa King, who is styled 'Mahārāja' and an illustrious King<sup>1</sup>, as a powerful and faithful ally, worthy of receiving such consideration.

The Kadamba-maṇḍala remained in the possession of the Ālupas even after the downfall of their overlords the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi. This will be shown in the section dealing with the Rāshtrakūṭas.

The other feudatory family which met with steady preferment at the hands of the Chalukyas was that of the Sēndrakas. We saw above that these chiefs were the mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras of the Kadamba kings in the heyday of their rule<sup>2</sup>. But with the destruction of the power of the latter the Sēndrakas transferred their allegiance to the Chalukya house. Nevertheless it was not through political necessity alone that they accepted the overlordship of the Chalukyas. There appears to have existed a stronger reason for this intimate relationship and this was that the two families were closely connected with each other by marriage. The Chiplun grant of Pulikeśi II tells us that the Sēndraka prince Śrīvallabha-Sēnānandarāja was his maternal uncle<sup>3</sup>. Furthermore the very object of the inscription, which was to announce a grant made by this Sēndraka prince to a Brahman, implies a special favour shown to the Sēndrakas by Pulikeśi.

It is possible that in the task of establishing the Chalukya supremacy this King was rendered substantial help by his maternal uncle the Sēndraka ruler. It was probably because the Chalukya monarch considered the Sēndraka King as his faithful ally, that he held him in such high favour, and like the other feudatories of the Chalukyas, the Sēndrakas were also given a share of the Kadamba-maṇḍala.

The successors of this Sēndraka Śrīvallabha Sēnānandarāja continued in the service of the Western Chalukyas. The inscriptions of the Sēndrakas that have been found in southern Gujerat show that they came to that country in the employ of their liege-lords the Chalukyas and were rewarded with grants of districts on the completion of its conquest<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 371.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VI, p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Buhler, *Bagumba Grant of Nikumbhasakti*, I. A., XVIII, pp. 256-257.

Among the Sēndrakas that ruled over the part of Kadamba-maṇḍala that had been made over to them, we find the name of Dēvaśakti, who is spoken of as a feudatory of the Chalukya king Vikramāditya, the successor of Pulikeśi II. The inscription that gives us this piece of information is dated in the 10th year of the reign of Vikramāditya and corresponds to A. D. 664. It mentions a grant of a field at the village of Raṭṭagiri to one Kēśavaswāmi and his son Prabhākaraśarmma by Vikramāditya at the request of the famous king Dēvaśakti of the Sēndraka family<sup>1</sup>. This King was probably the son of Śrīvallabha Sēnānandarāja, since he appears to have immediately succeeded the latter.

More definite information regarding the fact that the Sēndrakas ruled over the Kadamba-maṇḍala is derived from the lithic records of the Mahārāja Pogilli. Though the Banavasi province was never included within the sphere of their rule, there is sufficient epigraphical evidence to show that they possessed at least one of the provinces contiguous to Banavasi. According to the Belagami inscription of the same Sēndraka King, the latter was the feudatory of the Chalukya King Vinayāditya (A. D. 680-697), and his government comprised of the Nagarkhaṇḍa district, *i. e.* the Nagarkhaṇḍa division of the Banavasi province, and the village of Jedugūr, which may perhaps be identified with Jedda in the Sorab taluqa, in the neighbourhood of Banavasi<sup>2</sup>.

The successors of Pogilli very probably remained as the dependents of the Western Chalukyas till the downfall of the latter in the eighth century, when in the general subversion of old dynasties the Sēndrakas were completely ousted from the Dekkan.

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Five Copper-plate Grants of the Western Chalukya Family*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XVI, pp. 228-229.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Sanscrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., XIX, p. 145; E. C., VIII, Sk. 154.

## CHAPTER II

### Banavasi under the Rashtrakutas

The middle of the eighth century witnessed important changes in the political situation of the Dekkan. The growing ascendancy of the Western Chalukyas was suddenly arrested by the rise to power of a new line of kings who before long superseded the former as paramount rulers in the country. This new dynasty were the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mālkhēd whose reigning sovereign at this time was Khadgāvalōka-Śrī-Dantidurgarājadēva. His own record, dated in 754 A. D., tells us that he acquired the supreme sovereignty by conquering Vallabha (*i. e.* the Western Chalukya King Kirttivarmma II), and adds that with but a little force he quickly overcame the boundless Karṇāṭaka army, meaning thereby the Chalukya troops, which had been expert in defeating the lord of Kanchī, the king of Kēraḷa, the Chōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas<sup>1</sup>. His successor Kṛishṇa firmly established the Rāshtrakūṭa supremacy by finally overthrowing Kirttivarmma II. The Waṇī grant of one of his descendents informs us that king Kṛishṇa "quickly tore away the goddess of fortune from the Chalukya family, which was hard to be overcome by others"<sup>2</sup>.

With the rise to prominence of the Rāshtrakūṭas a few wholesome reforms were introduced into the administrative system then prevailing in the Dekkan. One of the most far reaching of these reforms was the division of the Empire into various provinces ruled over by governors, whom the Emperor appointed at his pleasure. Thus there sprang into being the province of Banavasi Twelve Thousand with probably the ancient city of Vijayanti for

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Sanscrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., XI, p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 160.

its capital. It is likely that it included the old Kadamba-maṇḍala, which was under the administration of the Ālupa kings.

We have said above that this Kadamba or Vanavāsi-maṇḍala was ruled by the Ālupas throughout the period of the Chalukya predominance. Under the Rāshtrakūṭas also it continued to be governed by these chiefs for well nigh half a century till about the year 800 A. D.

At the beginning of the 9th century however, the then governor of Banavasi, the Ālupa King Chitravāhana II, attempted to throw off the Rāshtrakūṭa yoke by rebelling against his overlord, Gōvinda III. But the attempt proved abortive and the Ālupa king was in consequence dispossessed of his kingdom<sup>1</sup>. Before we describe the fight itself, it will not be out of place here to examine the import of the insubordination on the part of this feudatory of the Rāshtrakūṭas.

The first thing that strikes one's mind in this connection is that the Ālupas, in order to revolt against a powerful monarch like Gōvinda III, should have gathered enormous strength during the period of chaos that preceded the establishment of the Rāshtrakūṭa supremacy.

Furthermore the Ālupa records tell us that Chitravāhana II successfully prevailed against one Raṇasāgara<sup>2</sup>. The latter was probably a prince of the blood royal and contested the throne with him<sup>3</sup>. Elated by his victory against the rival claimant it is likely that Chitravāhana next aimed at freeing himself from the Rāshtrakūṭa control. Accordingly he disregarded the supreme authority of Gōvinda III, the Rāshtrakūṭa sovereign. This provoked the anger of Kolli-Pallava-Nolamba who directed against the rebel, at the wish of course of the Rāshtrakūṭa King, a chief called Kākarasa. A desperate fight ensued, and as a result the Ālupa King lost a large part of his kingdom, which the Rāshtrakūṭa monarch handed over to Rājāditya<sup>4</sup>. The district that was thus forfeited was the Banavasi Twelve Thousand, which Rājāditya thereafter ruled in the name of Gōvinda III. This governor is then said to have extended his rule as far as the ocean<sup>5</sup>. The record does not tell us who this

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 10.

<sup>2</sup> E. I., IX, p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 10.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

Kolli-Pallava-Noḷamba was. But Mr. Rice supposes that he was "the same as the Kolliyarasa of the Ganjam plates" <sup>1</sup>, one of the grandchildren of the Pallava King, whom the Gangas took under their protection after the crushing defeat which the former had sustained from the Ganga King Bhūvikrama. "They may therefore", continues Mr. Rice, "have grown up at and remained with the Ganga court as hostages, and were employed by the Rāshtrakūṭas, who had seized the country". Accordingly he concludes that "Rājāditya was the son of Kolli-Pallava-Noḷamba and the same as the Noḷambarāditya, who was advised (by his? father in the exercise of his paternal authority) to attack Chitravāhana and to reduce him to obedience" <sup>2</sup>.

The next inscription which mentions this governor of the Banavasi-nāḍ is a viragal found at Manemane, and which is assigned to the same date as the above record. It speaks of him as bearing the title of Rāja-paramēśvara and says: "When Peṇarai besieged and ruined Manamane...s son Aṅga-Siṅga distinguished himself, slew many wrestling warriors, and was borne to Indra's world"<sup>3</sup>. It is not possible to identify this Peṇarai at the present stage of research. He was possibly a petty chief who raided the above-mentioned village.

The next name that is met with in the list of the governors of Banavasi is that of Eṇeyammarasa. Mr. Rice has assigned him on palaeographical grounds to A. D. 800<sup>4</sup>. But if we accept this date, there will arise the difficulty of having two governors ruling one and the same province in the same year. However as the inscription is not dated and as we know that palaeography alone is not a good auxiliary to chronology, we need not take this date as decisive.

Nor can we place him before 800 A. D. For it is certain that down to this date the Banavasi-nāḍ was under the administration of the Ālupa King Chitravāhana II. About the year 800 the latter was superseded in the government of this province by Rājāditya. Accordingly if we give this prince a rule of fifteen years, Eṇeyammarasa may be said to have assumed the government of Banavasi

<sup>1</sup> E. C., III, Sb, 160.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., IV, Intr., p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 22.

<sup>4</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 9.

in 814, the last year of Gōvinda III<sup>1</sup>. The above-mentioned inscription of Eṇeyammarasa by referring to his overlord Gōvinda III, plainly indicates that Eṇeyammarasa succeeded Rājāditya in the life time of his sovereign Gōvinda III.

There is an undated grant of the Rāshtrakūṭa King Amōghavarsha I (A. D. 811-878) at Nīdagundi in the Dhārwar taluqua, which records that Baṅkēyarasa, of the Chellakētana family, had the government of Banavasi Twelve Thousand, the Belgali Three Hundred and the Puṇigere, *i. e.* the Puligere or Lakshmēśwar Three Hundred<sup>2</sup>. Now presuming that Eṇeyammarasa ruled for a period of twenty years, we get 835 A. D. as the first year of the administration of Baṅkēyarasa.

The *prasaṁsī* of the *Uttarapurāṇa* by the Jain writer, Guṇabhadra, while mentioning that Baṅkēyarasa's son Lōkāditya was enjoying the whole of the Banavasi province in Ś. 820, when this work was completed, affords the interesting piece of information that "Baṅkāpura, the greatest of cities, . . . had been made by his father by his own name"<sup>3</sup>. But the expression used here does not make it clear whether Baṅkēyarasa founded and built the city of Baṅkāpura, or whether he only named after himself a city that was already existing<sup>4</sup>.

Baṅkēyarasa was succeeded in the government of Banavasi by one Indra, for whom we have a date falling in A. D. 870<sup>5</sup>.

Śaṅkaragaṇḍa was the next governor, who held office in the latter part of the reign of Amōghavarsha I and the early period of that of his son Kṛiṣṇa II. We derive this information from the three records of Śaṅkaragaṇḍa that have been noticed. But all the three records are unfortunately not dated and so it is not possible to know definitely when he succeeded to the governorship of Banavasi. However giving Baṅkēyarasa a rule of twenty years, and Indra a period of ten, we may probably arrive at a date which is not far removed from the initial year of the term of office of Śaṅkaragaṇḍa. Moreover this date (865 A. D.) as it falls in the reign of Amōghavarsha is consistent with the information gathered from the records of Śaṅkaragaṇḍa, that he was the feudatory

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., XII, p. 219.

<sup>2</sup> E. J., VII, pp. 213-214. Cf. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 403.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., XII, pp. 216 and 217.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., note 23; XXXII, p. 222.

<sup>5</sup> E. C., VII, II, 13.

of the former<sup>1</sup>. The other two inscriptions that speak of Śaṅkara-  
gaṇḍa belong to the time of Kṛishṇa III. They are found respect-  
ively at Kyāsanūr and Tālgund and record that the Mahāsāmāntā-  
dhipati Śaṅkaraṇḍa was governing the Banavasi province<sup>2</sup>.  
They also tell us that he belonged to the Chellakētana family.

Śaṅkaraṇḍa was succeeded by the Mahāsāmanta Lōkāditya,  
of the same family. Three inscriptions of this governor have come  
down to us. The earliest of these records, found at Kuṇimalli-  
halli in the Dhārwar District, is dated Ś. 815 or A. D. 893-94.  
It describes Lōkāditya as a Mahāsāmanta, and says that he was  
governing the Banavasi Twelve Thousand<sup>3</sup>. The second, which  
is dated Ś. 820 (current) corresponding to A. D. 897, speaks of  
him as governing the same province under his overlord Kṛishṇa II  
(888—911-12) at the town of Vaṅkāpura, which is the modern  
Baṅkāpur in the Dhārwar District<sup>4</sup>. The third record at Aḍūr  
gives him Ś. 826 (expired) or A. D. 905 as his last date<sup>5</sup>.

We are told in the second of these inscriptions that Lōkāditya  
was the son of Baṅkēyarasa<sup>6</sup>. It is possible that Śaṅkaraṇḍa  
who immediately preceded him, was his brother who died without  
an heir. They were probably very young at their father's death,  
and so Indra was appointed to act as governor till they came to  
age. This explains the break in the succession of these rulers.

In about 910 A. D. we have one Sēnāvarisa, ruling the Bana-  
vasi Twelve Thousand as the feudatory of the same Rāshṭrakūṭa  
monarch Kṛishṇa II<sup>7</sup>. It is not improbable that he also belonged to  
the same Chellakētana dynasty, for his name, as it ends in *arasa*,  
sounds very similar to Baṅkēyarasa and Kaliviṭṭarasa, who were  
Chellakētanas. The inscription that mentions his name states that  
Kosigara Jayamalla, who was the *magatin* of the Thousand of Kum-  
bise, was a subordinate of Sēnāvarisa<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> E. I., XVI, p. 215; Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, (1st ed.), p. 35. This record  
is at Kyasanur.

<sup>2</sup> E. I., XVI, p. 283; Fleet, l. c. The record at Talgund is not published.

<sup>3</sup> E. I., XVI, pp. 279-280; Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 411, note 3. Lo-  
kade is the same as Lokaditya.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., XII, p. 217.

<sup>5</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 411, note 3. This record is not pub-  
lished either.

<sup>6</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., XII, p. 217.

<sup>7</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 91.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

The next governor of Banavasi was the Mahāsāmanta Kaliviṭṭarasa. He undoubtedly belonged to the same Chellakētana family, for the inscriptions expressly mention that he was born in the race of the Chellakētanas. We suspect that he and Sēnāvarisa were brothers and the sons of Lōkāditya. The epigraph from which this information is derived makes the significant statement that he slew "the Banavāsi-Galamba (or Kadamba) Āyvavarmma"<sup>1</sup>. This might perhaps allude to an attempt made by one of the scions of the fallen Kadamba dynasty to overhaul the government and wrest the kingdom of his ancestors from its present owners.

The record being dated in 912 A. D. this event evidently happened before that year and is probably to be placed during the administration of Sēnāvarisa. The insurrection was perhaps widespread and Sēnāvarisa was overpowered by the rebels, whereupon Kaliviṭṭarasa took in his hands the reins of government. This hypothesis apparently explains the unusually short period of Sēnāvarisa's rule.

The other inscription that mentions the name of Kaliviṭṭarasa is dated A. D. 918 and belongs to the reign of Kannara or Kṛishṇa II<sup>2</sup>. It records that when the former was governing the province of Banavasi, Sattarasa Nāgārjjuna, the nāl-gavunḍa of the Nagarakhaṇḍa Seventy, died in the execution of Kaliviṭṭa's orders, on which the Rāshtrakūṭa Emperor gave the office to Jakkiyabbe, the widow of the deceased. This is for the first time we find women being appointed to such responsible positions. Jakkiyabbe would appear to have held the office with great success for seven years, when she was incapacitated by some bodily ailment on which she resigned everything to her daughter. Then she came to the *tirtha* of Bandanike and expired in performance of the Jaina vows. The officers mentioned in the record are the *perggaḍe* Nanduvara Kaliga and the *perggaḍe* of Koṇḍangeyūr, the survivor of the Sundiga tribe<sup>3</sup>.

It appears from the two viragals discovered at Soratur (Honnālī taluqua) that the rule of Kaliviṭṭarasa over Banavasi was interrupted about the year 934 by one Sāntara, who is there said to be ruling this province<sup>4</sup>. It is likely that his services were requisitioned in some other part of the Empire and thither he was sent by his

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Sb, 88.

<sup>2</sup> This date is evidently wrong, for the last date we have for Kannara II is 913-14.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 219.

<sup>4</sup> E. C., VII, Hl, 21 and 22.

royal master. In fact Gōvinda IV, the Rāshtrakūṭa King, if we are to believe the Eastern Chalukya records, was engaged at this period in a war against the Eastern Chalukya king. One of these records tells us that Amma I (918-925), the Eastern Chalukya ruler, used his sword against some feudatory relatives who had joined the party of his natural adversaries, and won over to himself the subjects and the army of his father and his grandfather<sup>1</sup>. The meaning of this seems to be that some of the members of his family had entered into conspiracy with the Rāshtrakūṭas to prevent his accession to the throne of Vengi. Another record affirms that Chālukya-Bhīma II (934-945) destroyed a great army that was sent against him by Gōvinda IV<sup>2</sup>. It is likely therefore that Kaliviṭṭarasa was fighting the Eastern Chalukyas about the year 934, and his place at Banavasi was filled by the above-mentioned Sāntara.

Kaliviṭṭarasa took over charge of his division as soon as the war with the Eastern Chalukyas was concluded. An inscription at Kuṃṣi mentions him as ruling one division of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand in 941 A. D.<sup>3</sup>, and the two records at Kyāsanūr in the Dhārwar District dated 945-946 describe him as governing the whole of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand as feudatory of Kṛishṇa III<sup>4</sup>.

The province of Banavasi next passed into the hands of the Ganga prince Satyavākya-Konguṇivarmma. The Ātkūr inscription which is dated in or just before 949-50 tells us that Kṛishṇa III fought and killed Rājāditya, the Chōḷa King, at a place named Tak-kola; that the actual slayer of the Chōḷa King was the Western Ganga prince Satyavākya-Konguṇivarmma-Perṃmanadi-Būtuga, who killed him treacherously while they were out together, taking the air; and that in recognition of this Kṛishṇa III gave Būtuga the Banavasi Twelve Thousand province, the Puṇigere Three Hundred, the Beḷvola Three Hundred, the Kisukāḍ Seventy, and the Bāgenāḍ Seventy<sup>5</sup>.

The Gangas were however not long in possession of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand. After a period of four or five years it was

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *The Chronology of the Eastern Chalukya Kings*, I. A., XX, p. 266.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 270; Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 417.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 83.

<sup>4</sup> E. I., XVI, pp. 281, 282-283; Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 420.

<sup>5</sup> E. I., II, p. 167.

again restored to the Chellakētana family. A viragal found at Chikka-Chauti represents Rasanna, the son of Kaliviṭṭarasa, as governing the province in 945 A. D.<sup>1</sup> This division had been handed over to the Gangas, probably because Rasanna was still a minor at the time of his father's death, and an important province, such as Banavasi was, required a good administrator.

Rasanna was the last of the governors belonging to the Chellakētana or Chellapatāka family, who held the Banavasi province for a period of over a hundred years. The Chellakētanans were probably a family of mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras under the Rāshtrakūṭa kings, and their faithful service commended them to be promoted to the governorship of this province. Indeed the fact that this important division of the Rāshtrakūṭa Empire was so long in their possession would suggest an attempt made in the time of the Rāshtrakūṭas to establish there a hereditary succession of mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras.

The first member of this family whose rule is known to us is Baṅkēyarasa, who is spoken of as the father of Lōkāditya in one of the above-referred inscriptions of the latter<sup>2</sup>. The same record says that Lōkāditya was the son of Chellakētana and the brother of Chelladhlavaja. We may infer from this that Baṅkēyarasa probably had the title of Chellakētana and the dynasty which he founded came to be known after this name. Their rank was that of the mahāsāmantas and they carried the *Chellapatāka* or Javelin-banner. The inscriptions of later rulers (e. g. Kaliviṭṭarasa) show that they were also entitled to the five big drums<sup>3</sup>. They seem to have been originally known as the Padmālaya family, for Lōkāditya claims in his record to have 'caused the bud, which was the family of the Padmālaya, to blossom'<sup>4</sup>.

In 954 A. D. the Banavasi Twelve Thousand was made over to one Māchiyarasa or Nārakki-arasa, who ruled over the province for a period of six years. He was born in the Brahma-Kshatriya Māṭūr-vamśa, and was entitled to the band of five chief instruments. He had the titles of Mahāsāmantādhipati and the boon lord of Trikunda-pura. He had the horse for his crest and the mirror flag. The record providing all these details says that he was acting as king of (Banavasi) Twelve Thousand from Eḍe-nāḍ, which was

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 240.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., XII, p. 217.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 219; VIII, Sb, 83.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, I, c.

evidently the seat of his government<sup>1</sup>. Another record belonging to the same period tells us that he was ruling the Banavasi Thirty-two Thousand. Mr. Rice holds this inscription to be corrupt and thinks that the Banavasi Thirty-two Thousand should be Banavasi Twelve Thousand<sup>2</sup>.

Māchiyarasa was succeeded in about 960 A. D. by one Javanaiśa. The record which mentions his name is dated A. D. 935.<sup>3</sup>

This governor was in his turn succeeded by Gobbindarasa who held office for a very short period of two years<sup>4</sup>.

It would seem from an early record of the Chalukya King Chattiga-dēva that in about 967-68 A. D. he conquered the Banavasi and the adjoining provinces from the Rāshtrakūṭas and set himself up as an independent ruler<sup>5</sup>. This inscription would also have us believe that the Banavasi Twelve Thousand was at this time ruled by his feudatory a Kadamba. His name is unfortunately effaced from the inscription, but in all likelihood it was Iṣivabēḍaṅga-dēva, the father of Chaṭṭa or Kundama, who appears a decade later as the feudatory of the Chalukya King Taila<sup>6</sup>, after the restoration by him of the Chalukya power. It was possibly on account of the affection he had for his overlord that Iṣivabēḍaṅga-dēva gave his son the name of Chaṭṭa. All this would perhaps point out to an alliance concluded between the two dynasties which were but three centuries before each other's bitterest enemies.

It is however rather perplexing to find this Chalukya King, ruling independently over a part of the Rāshtrakūṭa Empire at a period when the power of the latter was still in the ascendant<sup>7</sup>. Nevertheless as the fact remains undoubted, we may surmise that Chaṭṭa-dēva was a predecessor of Tailapa, and that he made an attempt at restoring the fortunes of the Chalukya family—thus anticipating Taila, who is known to have finally overthrown the Rāshtrakūṭa supremacy in A. D. 973-74<sup>8</sup>. Chaṭṭa-dēva probably declared his

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 474, 476 and 70.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 351, Trans., p. 62.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Sb, 202 and 203.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Sb, 326 and 531.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., Sb, 465.

<sup>6</sup> E. I., XV, p. 333.

<sup>7</sup> The information about this ruler is so scanty that it is not possible to determine his place in the Chalukya genealogy.

<sup>8</sup> Fleet, *Taila*, I. A., XXI, p. 167.

independence during the weak rule of the Rāshtrakūṭa King Kottiga. We know that it was in this King's reign that the Rāshtrakūṭas were defeated in battle by Siyaka-Harśa, one of the Paramāra kings of Mālwa, and either he or his successor Muṇja sacked Mālkhēd, the Rāshtrakūṭa capital <sup>1</sup>. Chaiṭṭa-dēva, it is possible, profited by this misfortune of the Rāshtrakūṭas and established for himself an independent kingdom in the south.

But Kottiga was soon succeeded by Kakka II, who retrieved considerably the losses sustained by the family during the previous reign <sup>2</sup>. He very probably attacked the Chalukya King Chaiṭṭa-dēva and on the latter's making his submission appointed him as the governor of Banavasi. Accordingly we find him mentioned in the inscriptions of 972 and 973 as the feudatory of the Rāshtrakūṭa King Kakka II or Kakkala-dēva II <sup>3</sup>. Both records represent him as "ruling the kingdom of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand". The first one in addition says that his son-in-law was one Kannayya of Kalladi.

We cannot say what happened to this Chaiṭṭa-dēva. Two conjectures are possible: that he died before Tailapa overthrew Kakka II, or that he was promoted to a higher office by his kinsmen on his success.

<sup>1</sup> *E. I.*, I, pp. 225-226.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., XII, p. 268. Here he is said to have conquered the Gurjaras, the Cholas, the Hunas and the Pandyas.

<sup>3</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 455 and 454.



PART IV

**The Kadambas of Hangal**



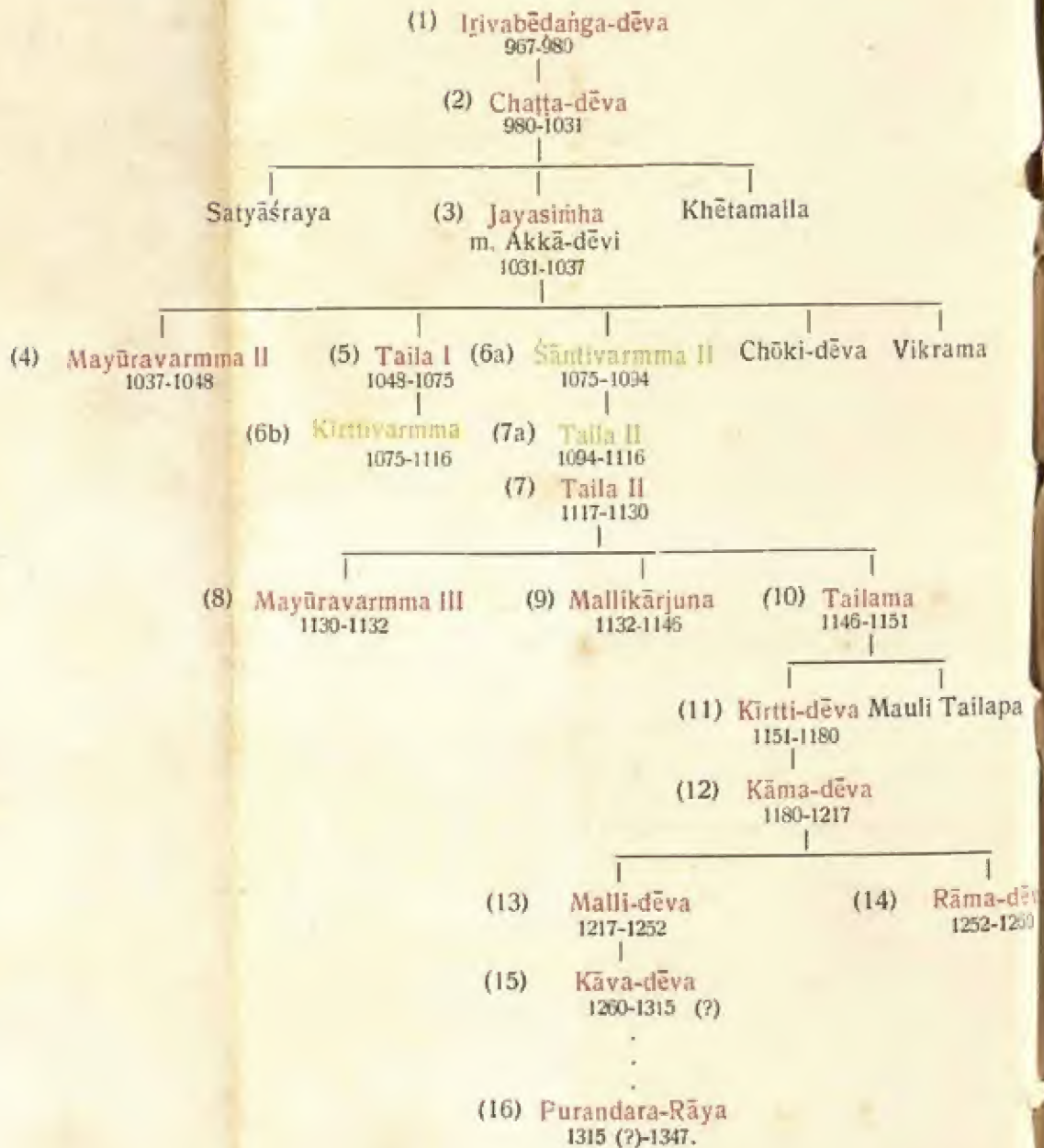


# THE KADAMBAS OF HANGAL

Banavasi

Banavasi and Hangal  
united

Hangal



## CHAPTER I

### Foundation of the Dynasty

Though Chaiṭṭa-dēva's success was short-lived, it was nevertheless becoming increasingly clear that the Rāshtrakūṭa Empire was fast declining. The Paramāra kings of Mālwa were continually attacking it from without, while it is evident from the incident of Chaiṭṭa, related in the last chapter, that there was a strong movement against the Rāshtrakūṭas within the Empire itself. This Chaiṭṭa of the Chalukya family was probably the leader of the Dekkanese opposition to the occupation and rule of a north Indian dynasty<sup>1</sup>. But this King, having failed to bring about a successful revolution was very probably superseded by Taila, who came forward as the leader of the movement. He overcame Kakka II, who was then the Rāshtrakūṭa sovereign, and was universally acclaimed by the people of the Dekkan as their King. The exact date of this important event is fixed by a verse in an inscription which informs us that having plucked up and destroyed the Rattas, having killed the valiant Muñja, having taken the head of Pañchāla in battle and having possessed himself of the royal dignity of the Chalukyas, Taila II reigned for twenty-four years, beginning with the year Śrīmuka. This *Samvatsara* was Ś. 896 current, i. e. A. D. 973-74<sup>2</sup>.

In the task of overthrowing the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty it appears that Taila was greatly helped by other royal families that had been dispossessed of their kingdoms and were waiting for an opportunity to get back their lost territories. One of these families was that of the Kadambas who, as we have suggested, probably aided

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. ante, p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Taila*, I. A., XXI, p. 167.

the Chalukya Chatṭa in his attempt to overhaul the Rāshtrakūṭa monarchy. They were however not disheartened at the failure of the movement, but gave their whole-hearted support to the new leader. This is obvious from the fact that as soon as Taila re-established the Chalukya power, he restored the Kadamba Iṛivabēḍaṅga-dēva to his hereditary kingdom of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand. We are led to the latter conclusion by the fact that Chatṭa, the son of Iṛivabēḍaṅga-dēva, is reported in an inscription to have been ruling the Banavasi Twelve Thousand in A. D. 986, which would imply that his father was in possession of the same territory before this date and presumably from the time of the overthrow of the Rāshtrakūṭa power. In fact an inscription of Chatṭa dated 1028, referring to his father, addresses the latter as King Iṛivabēḍaṅga-dēva<sup>1</sup>. Thus it was that King Iṛivabēḍaṅga became the founder of the Hāṅgal Kadambas.

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<sup>1</sup> *E. I.*, XV, p. 333.

## CHAPTER II

### Chatta-deva

**I**rivabēḍaṅga-dēva was succeeded by his son Chatta. The latter is variously known in the inscriptions as Chatta,<sup>1</sup> Chattu<sup>2</sup>, Chattuga<sup>3</sup>, Kundama<sup>4</sup>, Kundarāja<sup>5</sup> and Katakadagōva<sup>6</sup>.

The earliest epigraphical record that mentions his name is placed in A. D. 980 in the reign of the Western Chalukya King Āhavamalla or Taila II. He is here given all the important titles borne by the Kadambas of the Hāṅgai branch. The inscription calls him "the boon lord of (Banavasipura) and obtainer of a boon from Chāmuṇḍa." It also mentions that he was entitled to the five big drums and that he was ruling the Banavasi Twelve Thousand in peace and wisdom<sup>7</sup>. The second record which is dated 986 A. D. tells us that the chief under him of Nagarkhaṇḍa Seventy was one Bōdayya, the son of Ayyaṇa<sup>8</sup>.

It would appear from the inscriptions that the safety of the newly founded Chalukya Empire was at this time seriously endangered by the Chōḷa encroachments on its southern frontiers. We are informed in the Hoṭṭūr inscription that the Chōḷa king, having collected a force numbering nine hundred thousand, pillaged the whole country, slaughtered even women, children and Brahmans, and

<sup>1</sup> *E. I.*, XVI, p. 359.

<sup>2</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 413.

<sup>3</sup> *E. I.*, XVI, p. 359.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, *Sanscrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., V, p. 18.

<sup>5</sup> *E. I.*, XV, p. 333.

<sup>6</sup> Fleet, l. c.

<sup>7</sup> *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 184.

<sup>8</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 413.

taking their girls to wife destroyed their caste<sup>1</sup>. This was evidently an invasion of a serious nature led by the Chōlas in or about the year 1007-1008. But it is probable that before this there must have been many smaller inroads into the Chalukya kingdom. The brunt of this attack naturally fell on the Kadamba territories, for they formed the southernmost part of the Chalukya Empire. The proper defence of these territories necessitated the appointment of experienced generals to conduct the defence of the frontier districts, and accordingly Bhīmarasa was appointed the governor of the Banavasi, Sāntaḷige and Kisukāḍ districts. That the latter office was created in a military emergency is obvious from the very description of the governor Bhīmarasa, given in the Talagunda record of 997. This inscription particularly emphasises the fact that he "possessed many elephants and forces", and that "he was a cage of adamant to those who claimed his protection"<sup>2</sup>.

This probably is the origin of the office of governors appointed by the Emperors over the provinces ruled by the mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras. The imperial officers before this were probably for the most part customs officials who were entrusted with the collection of the imperial dues like the *Vaḍḍa-rāula*, *perjjunka* and the *biḷkoḍe*. The governors who were now appointed served a twofold purpose, namely they saw to the proper defence of the kingdom and closely supervised the actions of the mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras, besides being the heads of the customs department in the provinces allotted to them.

Returning to the proper subject of our narrative it may be observed that the Chōlas were repulsed for the time being by the Chalukya King Irivabēḍaṅga Satyāśraya<sup>3</sup>; but they renewed their aggressive activities a few years later in the reign of his son Jayasīma II. This we conclude from the Beḷagāmi inscription of 1019 which calls him the conqueror of the Chōlas<sup>4</sup>.

It is probable that Chatṭa distinguished himself in the war against the Chōlas, as his father had done before him in the struggle with the Rāshtrakūṭas. In fact one of his inscriptions records the following praises:—

"O Kundiga, when they name thee in respect of courage, what

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 433.

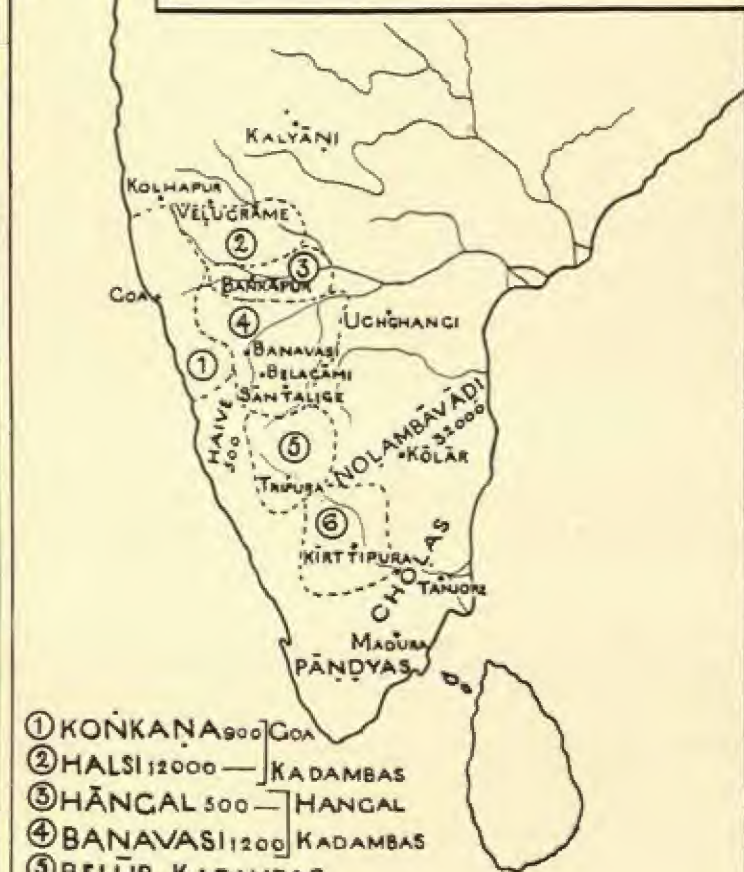
<sup>2</sup> Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 186.

<sup>3</sup> *E. I.*, XVI, p. 75.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Kanarese Inscriptions*, I. A., V, p. 17.



# KADAMBA POSSESSIONS — IN THE 11TH CENTURY



- ① KONKANĀ 900 ] GOA
- ② HALSI 12000 — ] KADAMBAS
- ③ HĀNGAL 500 — ] HANGAL
- ④ BANAVASI 1200 ] KADAMBAS
- ⑤ BELŪR KADAMBAS
- ⑥ BAYALNĀD KADAMBAS

further praises can others give? Is it not what is said of the troops of elephants of the Chōla, the Gaṅgēya, (and) king Bhōja with open mouths as they flee away in the battle where they are pressed by (thy) elephants furious with storms of rutting ichor, as they flee away in terror through which they gallop off without waiting at all to charge with their tusks?"<sup>1</sup>

In all likelihood Chatta conquered the Haive Five Hundred from the Chōlas who had annexed it to their dominions just before 1012 A. D. An inscription dated in that year, speaking about the activities of the famous Chōla general Pañchamahārāya, says: "When the Kō-virāja Rāja-Kēsari-varmma, Rājarāja, marched across, the bee at his lotus feet Pañchamahārāya, having obtained the rank of Mahādaṇḍanāyaka, for Beṅgimaṇḍala and Gaṅgamaṇḍala displayed the might of his arm as follows:—

"He seized Tuḷuva and Koṅkaṇa, pursued after Maḷeya, pushed aside and passed over Chēra, Teluga, and Raṭṭiga, as if in sport..."<sup>2</sup>

It is also obvious from the epigraphical records that Chatta was engaged in aggressive campaigns against his neighbours. We learn from an inscription of 1012 A. D. that Chatta was in that year ruling the Banavasi Twelve Thousand and the Sāntalige Thousand<sup>3</sup>. Now the latter province was the hereditary domain of the Sāntāras, and the fact that it is associated with the government of Chatta suggests the inference that he had imposed his suzerainty over these princes. In fact a viragaḷ of 1015 informs us that this district was held at this time by a Sāntara prince in subordination to Chatta<sup>4</sup>. But the Sāntaras soon appear to have thrown off the yoke of Kadamba supremacy. For a monumental slab dated in 1016 A. D. mentions Chatta as governing only the Banavasi Twelve Thousand under the Chalukya Emperor Jayasīṃha-vallabha. It is possible that in the confusion occasioned by the struggle against the Chōlas, the Sāntaras of Sāntalige declared their independence. But soon after the termination of the Chōla war, Chatta reduced them to submission. Accordingly the Baḷagāmi inscription of Chatta, above referred to, affirms that he was governing in the year 1019

<sup>1</sup> E. I., XV, p. 333.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., III, Sr, 140.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 287.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Sk, 220.

the provinces of Banavasi and Sāntāḷige, besides that of the Haive Five Hundred <sup>1</sup>.

In 1018 A.D. the war with the Mālavas was probably renewed. It may be mentioned here that the enmity between the Chalukyas and the Mālavas, *i. e.* the Paramāras of Dhār was almost hereditary. It has already been noted that Muñja defeated the Rāshtrakūṭa King Kottiga and sacked Mālkhēd, the Rāshtrakūṭa capital <sup>2</sup>. Stimulated by this brilliant success he continued to invade the part of the Dekkan which had by now fallen into the hands of the Western Chalukyas. In all probability Taila, who was just then reaping the first fruits of his victory, after having overthrown the Rāshtrakūṭas was more than once defeated by Muñja. It is said that he conquered and imprisoned Taila six times, whom each time he released and was finally defeated and taken prisoner by Tailapa <sup>3</sup>. But this story, with the further embellishment of the love-affair with Taila's sister, has to be discarded by sober historians, as a fanciful creation of a poetic brain. Nevertheless the fact remains that Taila inflicted an irretrievable defeat on the Mālavas.

It evidently took a long time for the Paramāras to heal the wounds inflicted on them by Taila. For in the reigns of the three successors of this King, we do not at all hear of the Mālava depredations. But in about 1018 A.D. the Mālavas renewed their encroachments on the Chalukya territory. In retaliation the Chalukyas under their King Jayasīṃha made an advance on Dhār, the capital of the Mālavas, and defeated Bhōja, who was then the Paramāra King. The Beḷagāmi inscription of Chatṭa-dēva makes a brief mention of this event, when it describes Jayasīṃha as "a moon to the lotus which was King Bhōja" <sup>4</sup>. But a detailed information of this campaign of Jayasīṃha and the part played by Chatṭa-dēva his feudatory, is given in the Banavasi record of Kirttivarmma, above referred to. It informs us that the Chalukya army marched northwards as far as the Gautama-Gaṅge, *i. e.* the modern Gōdāvarī, and there it engaged the Mālava King in battle. The record claims for the Kadamba Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Chatṭa-dēva, the honour of dispersing the Mālava troops, as a reward for which he

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., V, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ante, p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> Tawney, *The Prabandhaśintamani*, p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, *o. c.*, p. 17.

was granted the title of "Guardian of the Highland" in the camp of his sovereign Jayasimha<sup>1</sup>. Referring to the brilliant victory won by Chatta, the Kalēnūr inscription of the latter remarks that the pride of Malepas was destroyed and the noblemen's pride was shaken by him<sup>2</sup>.

The last inscription of Chatta-dēva is dated in A. D. 1031. He is here represented as governing the Banavasi Twelve Thousand and the Sāntalige Thousand<sup>3</sup>, while he seems to have lost the Haige Five Hundred. We are also told that the Sāntalige district was at this time under the administration of his son Satyāśraya-dēva, who is here styled Kundama's warrior along with other epithets<sup>4</sup>.

The Haige Five Hundred was probably reconquered by the Chōlas, who subsequently attacked the Sāntalige and the Banavasi provinces. The ruler of Sāntalige, prince Satyāśraya-dēva, was very probably slain by the Chōlas, who claim to have penetrated as far as Banavasi<sup>5</sup>. The reason for this surmise is that this prince is not heard of any more and Chatta is soon after succeeded by his son Jayasimha<sup>6</sup>. Furthermore the fact that Satyāśraya was appointed governor of the important province of Sāntalige in the life time of his father shews that he was the eldest son of Chatta, and as the former did not succeed him in accordance with the common usage, it follows through syllogistic necessity that Satyāśraya died before his father.

Two inscriptions relating to the reign of the same King give us the names of two of his Queens. One of them was Kuṇḍala-dēvi who was the daughter of a certain Bāchayya<sup>7</sup>. The latter very probably belonged to the Śilāhāra family of Northern Koṅkan; for Kuṇḍala-dēvi is described as the crest-jewel of the house of Thāni<sup>8</sup>. The other was Jayabbe, the beautiful, virtuous, full moon faced daughter of Bammarasa and the adopted daughter of Rājamalla<sup>9</sup>. The record does not specify who these persons were, nor is it possible for us to identify them at the present stage of our investigations. It may be ascertained from the same inscription that Jayabbe was

<sup>1</sup> E. I., XVI, p. 359.

<sup>2</sup> E. I., XV, p. 333.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VII, Sk. 30.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> S. I. I., I, pp. 51, 52, 95, 96, 113.

<sup>6</sup> E. I., XVI, p. 359.

<sup>7</sup> E. I., XV, p. 333.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Appendix, No. III, 7.

ruling at Ajjadi with the help of Sahadēva, who is described in the record as the chief of Ajjadi. The record also informs us that he was the son of the brave Śūdraka who "was the pith of the desire yielding tree, the support of poets, versifiers, disputants and eloquent speakers". Speaking of Sahadēva's warlike qualities the inscription avers that he conquered the country by "the valour of his arm when the kings of Mālava being panic-stricken gave it over". We may infer from this that Sahadēva was a general of Chaṭṭa and followed the latter in the war against the Mālavas. Having there distinguished himself by his deeds of valour, he was rewarded with Ajjadi in Dhārwar by his master Chaṭṭa. The inscription however states that he soon made over the government of the district, to his brother Rāchamalla and accepted the life of a *setti* at Banavasi <sup>1</sup>.

These records of Chaṭṭa allude to three of his sons. We have already spoken of Satyāśraya, his eldest son, and Jayasīṃha who was probably the second. The third was Khētamalla who is described in one of the grants as his father's agent for works of merit <sup>2</sup>. We learn from the Haḷḷihāl inscription of the time of this King that he had under him Sahadēva, who was the chief of Ajjadi <sup>3</sup>.

Chaṭṭayya-dēva was a man of remarkable ability. It is undoubtedly due to his daring and courage, no less than to his statesmanship, that the newly revived Kadamba power took deep roots in the Kaṇṇāṭaka soil. He is described in the Beḷagāmi inscription as "the very lion towards the troops of elephants which were his foes" <sup>4</sup>. Again the same record speaks of him as a handmill to his enemies and likens him to Rāma in battle, whose resolution was never to be shaken <sup>5</sup>. He was also a patron of learning and a promoter of piety. According to one of his records he established an *agrahāra* (seat of learning) at Sāliyūr for the benefit of his subjects <sup>6</sup>. Other inscriptions represent him as building new temples or repairing old ones. The same Beḷagāmi inscription records a grant he made to the god Nandikeśvara-dēva of the original local

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 285.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix, No. III, 7.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, *Sanscrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., V, p. 18.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 285.

shrine "for the purpose of repairing whatever might become broken or torn or worn out through age". The inscription also contains a grant to the god Chaturmukhadēva <sup>1</sup>. Chaiṭṭa seems to have gone even to the extent of making the necessary provisions to meet the expenses for the ordinary celebrations at the famous shrines in the country. Thus for instance, the Kūḍagere inscription tells us that for the daily offerings at the temple of the gods Pingalēśvara and Sayamba of the Mindalli *mūlasthāna* at the Koḍalatirtha, he made a grant of land in the Sattigāla plain, below the bank of the Gāngeṇi <sup>2</sup>. We are informed in the Haḷḷihāḷ inscription that the glorious Jayabbarasi gave, at the request of Rājamalla, a black soil measuring 6 *mattars* of royal measure, red soil 300 *mattars*, one paddy land of 50 *mattars* and one garden for voluntary service <sup>3</sup>. His noble example was naturally imitated by his subjects and a spirit of social service was thus engendered in the people. This spirit is given expression to in one of these records of Chaiṭṭa, which says that a private citizen named Todaka Kēśavayya and his wife Mārabbe, being disposed to perform a work of merit, purchased land and granted it to the god Chandēśvara <sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., V, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 30.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix, No. III, 7.

<sup>4</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 287.

## CHAPTER III

### Jayasimha

Chatṭa was succeeded by his son Jayasimha. No historical details are available in the records about the reign of this King. The Banavasi inscription of Kīrttivarmma, above referred to, describes him as a man stout of arm and as the shatterer of squadrons of foeman's elephants <sup>1</sup>. These epithets would suggest that he was obliged to fight against the Chōlas who were incessantly encroaching on the Kadamba territory. Possibly in one of these engagements he lost his life; hence nothing is known about him.

The inscriptions of this period speak of a Queen named Akkā-dēvi, who appears to have been a personage of great reputation and consequence. We learn from these records that she was a sister of Vikramāditya V and of Jayasimha II, the Chalukya Emperors <sup>2</sup>. An inscription at Sūḍi tells us that she was governing the district of Kisukāḍ Seventy. She is here described as "sharing in the enjoyment of the fruits of thousands of issues of unceasing supreme felicity, equal to a second Goddess of Fortune, a wishing jewel of immeasurable bounty, a crest-jewel of discretion, uniform of speech, adorned with virtues" <sup>3</sup>. We see from another record that she was in charge of the Kisukāḍ Seventy under Jayasimha II <sup>4</sup>.

It may be concluded from some of these inscriptions that Akkā-dēvi was related to the family of the Kadambas. Thus a record

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<sup>1</sup> E. I., XVI, p. 359.

<sup>2</sup> E. I., XV, p. 76; Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., XVIII, p. 275.

<sup>3</sup> E. I., XV, p. 76.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., XVIII, p. 275.

of 1067 A.D. states that she was the mother of Tōyima-dēva who was then ruling the Banavasi and the Hāngal provinces<sup>1</sup>. Now this Tōyima-dēva seems to be the same as Taila, the second son of Jayasimha<sup>2</sup>. Hence it follows that Akkā-dēvi was the wife of Jayasimha. It is not improbable that Iṛivabēdaṅga-dēva Satyāśrāya, the Chalukya Emperor, being attacked by enemies on the north and the south sought to strengthen the bonds of friendship between the Kadamba and the Chalukya royal families, by a dynastic marriage, and accordingly married his daughter Akkā-dēvi to Jayasimha, the son of Chaṭṭa. We have already seen that this move of the Emperor had its desired effect, since the Kadambas of Hāngal never swerved in their allegiance to the Chalukyas.

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<sup>1</sup> *E. I.*, XVI, p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* For this identification vide p. 104, note 4.

## CHAPTER IV

### Mayuravarmma II

Jayasimha had five sons, Māuli, Taila or Tailapa, Śāntivarmma Chōki-dēva or Jōki-dēva and Vikrama<sup>1</sup>. The first two, Māuli and Tailapa—whom we respectively identify with Mayūravarmma<sup>2</sup> and Tōyimarasa or Tōyima-dēva<sup>3</sup> of the epigraphical records of this period,—and Śāntivarmma ruled as kings in succession on the death of Jayasimha<sup>4</sup>.

There is an interesting record of the year 1037 which mentions the royal preceptor Rājaguru-dēva, whom it styles the restorer of the Kadamba family<sup>5</sup>. The meaning of this epithet seems to be that when Jayasimha died, his children, including his eldest son Mayūravarmma II, were young, and consequently this Rājagurudēva was of great help to Akkā-dēvi who, it may be inferred from the Hoṭṭūr inscriptions, was acting as regent at this period<sup>6</sup>. It is also clear

<sup>1</sup> *E. I.*, XVI, p. 359; Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., X, p. 353.      <sup>2</sup> *E. I.*, XVI, p. 80.      <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 86.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 359. We identify Mayuravarmma and Toyima-deva with Mauli and Tailapa respectively, for the reason that not only their names seem to have a close similarity to each other, but that they do not occur in any inscription other than the Karagudari grant of Tailapa II, and the Banavasi record of Kirttivarmma, where they are very briefly mentioned. It is evident from the records that they did rule as kings. Furthermore we have the grant of Mayuravarmma and Toyima-deva, whom if we do not identify with Mauli and Taila, will not find a place in the genealogy of the Hangal Kadambas, as given in the above-mentioned records of Tailapa II and Kirttivarmma. Lastly the records bearing the name of Mayuravarmma and Toyima-deva clearly state that they were Kadambas of the Hangal branch and that they ruled after 1034, which exactly corresponds with the initial year of Mauli.      <sup>5</sup> Appendix, No. III, 8.      <sup>6</sup> *E. I.*, XVI, pp. 79 and 88.



1. Hale Banavasi. Śiva Temple.



2. Talagunda. Prāṇavēśvara Temple.



3. Banavasi. Fort Walls.



4. Banavasi. Entrance to the Fort.

from these records that they lost at this time the district of Haige Five Hundred, which had been conquered and annexed by Chatta. The Alupas very probably added this district to their kingdom, when the attention of the Kadambas was distracted by the Chōla invasion. But this loss they soon compensated by the acquisition of a new district in the north, namely, that of the Hāngal Five Hundred<sup>1</sup>, after which this branch of the Kadamba-Kula is known in history.

Mayūravarmma seems to have ruled a few years more. An inscription of A.D. 1037 shows him as governing the Banavasi Twelve Thousand and the Hāngal Five Hundred with Akkā-dēvi at the head of the former province<sup>2</sup>. He was probably the elder son of this Queen, who helped him in the government of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand with his brother Tōyima-dēva<sup>3</sup>.

The last inscription of this ruler is dated Ś. 966 or A. D. 1044-45, where he is described as still ruling the Pānumgal (Hāngal) district as a feudatory of the Chalukya King Somēśvara I<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *E. I.*, XVI, p. 80; Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 563. Hangal, says the Gazetteer of Dharwar, is locally believed to be the place where the Pandavas lived during part of their exile from Delhi. The name Viratakote and Viratanagari, the fort and city of Virata, which occur in the inscriptions support the tradition. For according to the *Mahabharata*, Virata was the King at whose court the Pandavas spent the thirteenth year of their exile. *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, XII, Dharwar, p. 389.

<sup>2</sup> *E. I.*, XVI, p. 79.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 437. Dr. Fleet does not refer to the inscription from which he derives this information.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 563. This inscription is at Adur in Hangal taluqua.

## CHAPTER V

### Taila I or Toyima-deva

**M**ayūravarimma probably died without an heir, for after his death his brother, Taila became the sole possessor of the Kadamba dominions. He was very likely helped by his mother Akkā-dēvi in the administration of his kingdom. There are a few inscriptions of this Queen issued in the reign of her son. We learn from one of them, dated in 1050 A. D., that the period of Tailapa's rule was a trying time for the Kadambas of Hāṅgal, as the Chōlas made incessant inroads into their dominions. This inscription records the renewal of the statutory constitution of the town of Sūṇḍi by Akkā-dēvi, as it had broken down on account of the invasion of the Chōlas. This epigraph asserts that Akkā-dēvi was governing the Kisukāḍ Seventy, Toṟugare Sixty and the Māsavādi Hundred and Forty <sup>1</sup>. It is also interesting to note that Akkā-dēvi had under her five ministers of state, namely Kāḷidāsayya, the steward of the household, the councillor Miḷḷayya, the councillor Chittimayya, the minister of state Demmaṇṇa, Chāvunḍa-rāya, the steward of the betel-bag, besides Dāsimayya, the Secretary of the council, the Commissioner of the country and other executive officials <sup>2</sup>. In another record, dated two years later, we find this Queen granting a statutory constitution for the temple of the god Akkēśvara of Sūṇḍi—evidently a sanctuary of Śiva founded or re-established by Akkā-dēvi—regulating the disposal of the lands of the establishment so as to perform the due ceremonies of the rituals <sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *E.I.*, XV, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81.

It appears from the lithic records that Akkā-dēvi was a Queen of warlike nature. An inscription at Arsibīḍi represents her as laying siege to the fort of Gōkāge or Gōkāk, in the Belgaum District. It is likely that she undertook this expedition for quelling some local rebellion <sup>1</sup>.

King Tōyima-dēva ruled for a fairly long period. The last inscription of this King is dated in A. D. 1066. It describes him as a "man of might to adversaries, sun to the Highland, ever active in truth, Āñjanēya in purity, Brahman in assemblies, Shapmukha in the front of battles, thousand armed (Kārtavīrya) with balls, Rāhu in the fray, Paraśu-Rāma to the resorts of foes, . . . baṁgāra of title-bearers, warrior to Mēruḡa, exalted in high spirit, (and the) lion to Hariga"<sup>2</sup>. It may be inferred from the last epithet of Tōyima-dēva that he rendered distinguished services to his kinsman the Kadamba Hariga or Harikēsari of Baṅkāpūr, who was then the governor of the Banavasi and the Hāṅgal provinces under the Chalukya King Vikramāditya <sup>3</sup>.

Even at this late date we find queen Akkā-dēvi being referred to in the Kadamba records. The above-mentioned Hoṭṭūr inscription of Tōyima-dēva records, as a supplement to the endowment of the latter to the Śaīva monastery, a remission of fees due to her from the same institution <sup>4</sup>.

One of the Queens of Tōyima-dēva was Mailala-dēvi who granted in conjunction with her husband a religious foundation to (the temple of) the god Kēśavēśvara, at Hoṭṭūr <sup>5</sup>.

It was probably on the demise of his mother Akkā-dēvi, that Tōyima-dēva appointed his son Kīrttivarmma to the government of Banavasi. There is an inscription of the latter dated 1068 A. D., which was evidently issued in the initial year of his rule as governor of Banavasi. This inscription while giving all the titles of the family to Kīrttivarmma, calls him the lion for Taila, which clearly implies that he was governing the province under his father Tōyima-dēva or Tailapa <sup>6</sup>. Kīrttivarmma ruled in this capacity till 1075 A. D., when on the death of his father he declared himself independent of the Hāṅgal government <sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 435. The inscription is not published.

<sup>2</sup> *E. I.*, XVI, p. 86.

<sup>3</sup> *E. I.*, XIII, p. 173.

<sup>4</sup> *E. I.*, XVI, p. 88.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 355.

<sup>7</sup> *Vide pp.* 110-111.

## CHAPTER VI

### Santivarmma II

On the death of king Tōyima-dēva, his brother Śāntivarmma ascended the throne of Hāṅgal. This event probably took place in 1075 A. D. for the first inscription of this sovereign is dated in that year<sup>1</sup>.

It would appear from the records that Śāntivarmma's succession to the throne was not entirely undisputed. We saw above that Tōyima-dēva's son Kīrttivarmma was governing the Banavasi Twelve Thousand in the life time of his father. Now this Kīrttivarmma put forward his claim to the throne of Hāṅgal contending that as he was the crown prince, the kingdom belonged to him by right. Śāntivarmma probably based his claim on grounds of seniority. Consequently it is very likely that the Kadamba kingdom was torn between the two rival factions. In fact there is sufficient epigraphical evidence to show that they had already appealed to arms. A viragal dated in 1075, and found in the Banavasi Twelve Thousand province, informs us that Kadamba Śāntayya-dēva sent 'the whole army under twelve nāyakas', obviously for the purpose of ravaging the province, and that it attacked the Kuppāṭūr *agrahūra* in the course of its depredations<sup>2</sup>. Thus when the things were going from bad to worse, King Jayakēśi I, of the Goa Kadamba dynasty, seems to have intervened and brought about an amicable settlement between the rivals. This is very probably the meaning intended by the composer of the inscription of Śivachitta, one of the successors of Jayakēśi.

<sup>1</sup> E. I., XVI, p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 314.

when he recorded that Jayakēśi 'assembled the Kadambas' <sup>1</sup>. The accomodation arrived at appears to be that the Banavasi Twelve Thousand should remain in the hands of Kīrttivarmma, while Śāntivarmma was to succeed to the government of the Hāṅgal province. This is obvious from the fact that unlike the inscriptions of Taila I and Mayūravarmma II, the records of Kīrttivarmma do not attribute to him the sovereignty over these two provinces, but limit his rule to the Banavasi Twelve Thousand only <sup>2</sup>. In the same manner the Nīralgi inscription of Śāntivarmma, which is beyond doubt his earliest record, does not state the details of his government <sup>3</sup>; from which Dr. Fleet rightly infers that Śāntivarmma and Kīrttivarmma "were then ruling, respectively, only the Pāṇṅal Five Hundred and the Banavāsi Twelve Thousand" <sup>4</sup>.

The Nīralgi inscription of Śāntivarmma, above referred to, gives him hyperbolic epithets. He is described here as a king of irresistible might to whom "puissant hostile monarchs came bowing for refuge". It calls him "the death-spirit of cosmic dissolution to warriors of puissant enemy princes, ornament to princes, Bhairava to princes, Triṇētra (Śiva) to princes, grindstone to princes" <sup>5</sup>. But as no specific victories are mentioned in the records we are inclined to believe that these were all empty boasts of the poets who composed the inscription.

The other record of Śāntivarmma is an epigraph from Araḷēśvar in the Hāṅgal taluqa dated in A. D. 1089, which avers that he was then ruling the Banavasi Twelve Thousand and the Hāṅgal Five Hundred, as a feudatory of the Chalukya emperor Vikramāditya VI <sup>6</sup>. But the fact that the Banavasi province was at this time ruled by the strong King Kīrttivarmma plainly shows that this was a mere title.

The Kargudari record gives us the piece of information that one of Śāntivarmma's Queens was Sīriya-dēvi, a Pāṇḍya princess, to whom was born the great king Taila II <sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Kadambas of Goa*, J.B.B.R.A.S., IX, p. 282.

<sup>2</sup> E.C., VIII, Sb, 262, 317, 337, 421, 442, 468, 469, 470; E.I., XVI, pp. 355, 363.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 72-73.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 561.

<sup>5</sup> E. I., XVI, p. 72.

<sup>6</sup> Fleet, l. c.

<sup>7</sup> Fleet, *Sanserti and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I.A., X, p. 254.

## CHAPTER VII

### Kirttivarmma

No sooner did Kirttivarmma find himself secure on the throne at Vaijayanti than he devoted himself to the strengthening of his position. When this was accomplished he seems to have started his aggressive campaigns. The latter fact we conclude from his inscriptions which describe him as a great warrior. An undated record of his, issued in the reign of the Chalukya Emperor Vikramāditya, calls him a "gallant against adversaries", and "unique warrior of the world"<sup>1</sup>. Further an inscription in the Sorab taluqua says that he was the "shatterer of foeman's arrogance"<sup>2</sup>.

The first step of Kirttivarmma in this direction was to free himself of the Chalukya control and to set himself up as an independent ruler. This he probably did during the civil war between Sōmēśvara II and his brother Vikramāditya<sup>3</sup>. The chaotic situation that arose from this fratricidal warfare, no doubt, helped him considerably in realising his purpose.

Next he encroached on the dominions of the Goa Kadamba King Jayakēśi I. We are told in one of his records that "he subdued the seven Koṅkaṇas"<sup>4</sup>. This sentence, though it is not to be taken literally, nevertheless shows that Kirttivarmma was at this time engaged in aggressive activities, and that during one of his predatory excursions he raided the Koṅkaṇ. This is confirmed by one of the grants of a successor of Jayakēśi I, which shows that Kirttivarmma did really come into conflict with Jayakēśi. The inscription

<sup>1</sup> E. I., XVI, p. 360.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 262.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bühler, *Vikramankadevacharita*, introd., pp. 34-37.

<sup>4</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 262.

records that "having made Kīrtirāja of Banavase obedient to his will, the Lord of the Ocean himself (Jayakēśi)...[transferred] duly his glory to Permādi"<sup>1</sup>. It follows from this that Kīrttivarmma's campaign against Jayakēśi of Goa was not only futile, but also ended in his own submission to the Chalukya Emperor. For it is obvious from the record that Jayakēśi as a loyal feudatory of the Chalukyas and father-in-law of the reigning Emperor, forced Kīrttivarmma to acknowledge the latter as his liege-lord. Thus the attempts of Kīrttivarmma to extend the boundaries of his kingdom and to establish his independence were for ever frustrated by his kinsman, the Kadamba King of Goa.

Notwithstanding this failure, it must be admitted that Kīrttivarmma was one of the most progressive rulers of his time. One of the early grants of his gives us the interesting piece of news that he was a *sarvaśna*<sup>2</sup>. This would suggest that he combined a deep knowledge of military tactics with profound erudition. This is fully borne out by a later record of his which shows that he was personally interested in dialectics, and often took part in the discussions on such subtle questions as the rewards of *dharma* and the like<sup>3</sup>. It is therefore not unreasonable to conclude that he was a great patron of scholars and promoter of learning in his kingdom. In one of these records it is clearly stated that he founded *agrahāras* (seats of learning) and endowed them with rich grants of land<sup>4</sup>. In these *agrahāras* there lived Brahman and Jaina scholars, without exhibiting the least animosity that might otherwise be expected to arise from their religious differences<sup>5</sup>. One of such *agrahāras* was the famous *agrahāra* of Kuppattūr, and the tolerant spirit prevailing there is expressed in the Kuppattūr grant of Kīrttivarmma. "By that consecrating priest Padmanandi-siddhānti-dēva<sup>6</sup>, the crowned queen Mālala-Dēvi having had the Kuppattūr Parsva-Dēva-chaityālaya well consecrated,—she worshipped in the prescribed manner all the Brahmans...of the immemorial *agrahāra* Kuppattūr, and having the name of Brahma-Jinālayam given to it by them, along with the priests of Koṭīśvara-mūlasthāna and all the

<sup>1</sup> E. I., XIII, p. 310.

<sup>2</sup> E. I., XVI, p. 355.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 442.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Sb, 262.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> He was a Jaina guru.

eighteen temples there, and causing the priest of Banavasi Madhukēśvara to come, performing worship to them, causing the *jōgavattige* to be placed, and giving to those Brahmans 500 honnu and obtained from them the lands (specified),—these and Siddaṇṇivallī obtained from Kīrtti-Dēva. ...she granted for the daily worship and the food of the rishis, washing the feet of Padmanandi-siddhānti-chakravartti"<sup>1</sup>.

Kīrttivarmma's reign extended over a period of half a century. His earliest grants are dated in A. D. 1058<sup>2</sup>, in which year he very probably inaugurated his rule, and the last date seems to be 1116<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 262.

<sup>2</sup> E. I., XVI, p. 355; Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 321.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 337.



5. Banavasi. Entrance to the Old Temple.



6. Banavasi. Madhukēśvara Temple.



7. Belagāmi. Gandabherunda Pillar.

## CHAPTER VIII

### The History of the Governors of Banavasi

**D**uring this eventful period various governors were appointed from time to time by the Chalukya Emperors to administer the imperial affairs of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand. We have already noticed that the first of these officials was Bhīmarasa who was made governor towards the end of the reign of the Chalukya Tailapa<sup>1</sup>. The earliest inscription which mentions the name of this governor is dated A.D. 997. It says that he was administering the Banavasi Twelve Thousand, the Sāntalige Thousand and the Kisukāḍ Seventy, and had under him *perggaḍe* Kālimayya, who was in charge of the customs duties of the *manneya* of the Nariyalige Forty<sup>2</sup>. We know from a viragal dated 999 and found at Hiri-Chavati, that Bhīmarasa was governing the same province of Banavasi in that year with his subordinate officials<sup>3</sup>. There are two more inscriptions of this governor dated respectively A.D. 1004<sup>4</sup> and 1006<sup>5</sup> in the reign of the Chalukya Emperor Iṣivabēdaṅga-dēva Satyāśraya, which mention him as still governing the Banavasi, the Sāntalige and the Kisukāḍ districts.

The Banavasi province next passed into the hands of one Sēnavarisa. An undated record which is placed on palaeographical grounds in A. D. 1010 is the only source of information regarding this official. It says that "when Vikramāditya Satyāśraya, favourite of earth and fortune, mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara bhāṭāra was ruling the kingdom of the world, Sēnavarisa was ruling the Banavāsi Twelve Thousand"<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 179.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 234.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 433.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 386.

<sup>6</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 381.

He probably ruled for a period of ten or fifteen years, when he was succeeded by other governors. But the names of these imperial officers are unfortunately not mentioned in the epigraphical records.

In A. D. 1045 a certain mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Singaṇadēvarasa was appointed the governor of Banavasi, Sāntalige and Kisku-kāḍ provinces up to the borders of the western ocean<sup>1</sup>. But soon this governor was relieved of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand and a new one, mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Chāmuṇḍa Rāyarasa, was appointed to the governorship of this province. The earliest reference we have of him is in a grant found in the Shikarpur Taluqa, which is dated A. D. 1046. He very soon succeeded to the province of Sāntalige as well; for in an inscription at Beḷagāmi, issued in the following year, he is said to be governing Sāntalige, besides the old provinces of Banavasi Twelve Thousand and Haige Five Hundred. The record describes him as the "boon lord of Banavāsipura . . . entitled to the five drums, a brave at the court of three kings, Śankara to the bull titled chiefs, terrifier of hostile kings, a hand on the face of braves, a sun of the titled, a manifest Vikramāditya, making sport of Koṅkaṇa, Āhavamalla-Dēva's Haṇuman, a wild fire to the Kaṇagile-vāḍa (and) thurster aside of Kannamma"<sup>2</sup>.

The above extract gives a brief review of the warlike expeditions of Chāmuṇḍa Rāya. It tells us that he made sport of Koṅkaṇa, which of course must not be understood to mean that he subdued the Koṅkaṇ, but that he led plundering excursions into some parts of that country. Indeed there are no indications at all in the contemporary inscriptions of his having subdued the Koṅkaṇ. It may be allowed however that he recovered the province of Haige Five Hundred, which was one of the provinces ruled over by Chātṭaya-dēva and which the Kadambas had lost after the latter's death<sup>3</sup>. But these plundering excursions were never directed into that part of the country which was under the sway of Shashṭha-dēva. For we know from the Goa Kadamba records that the latter was one of the most powerful mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras of his day<sup>4</sup>.

It can also be inferred from this extract that Chāmuṇḍa Rāya led incursions into Kaṇagile-vāḍa. This was possibly a district on

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 439.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VII, Sk. 151.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ante, p. 99.

<sup>4</sup> E. I., XIII., p. 309-310.

the borders of the Chalukya Empire which Chāmuṇḍa Rāya tried to bring within the pale of their dominions.

The same inscription implies that Chāmuṇḍa Rāya defeated one Kannamma, since it styles him "the thruster aside of Kannamma". But there is nothing in the inscription to enable one to ascertain who this Kannamma was and to what dynasty he belonged. However a study of the history of the ruling families of the day would suggest that Kannamma was probably the Kaṣachūrya King of this name. An inscription of this family found in the Dāvaṇagere Taluqua<sup>1</sup> informs us that one Kannamma was the ancestor of Bijjala who is known from epigraphical records to have lived in the latter half of the twelfth century<sup>2</sup>. Now giving a period of twenty five years to each of the four kings who are said to have preceded Bijjala, we find that Kannamma was the contemporary of Chāmuṇḍa Rāya.

We are also told in the above inscription that the Gurjjara, the Chēra and the Chōḷa kings were moved at his grandeur<sup>3</sup>. This piece of encomium was probably intended to show that he was respected by these rulers on account of his heroism, notwithstanding the fact that he was a mere official with the title of mahāmaṇḍalēśvara.

This inscription, which is engraved on a *gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa* pillar, states that this monument was set up by Chāmuṇḍa Rāya in the town of Beḷagāmi<sup>4</sup>. This monument is an elegant monolith, surmounted by the image of Bhēruṇḍēśvara in human form with double eagle's head<sup>5</sup>. In two other inscriptions found at the same village *gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa* is given as one of his *birudas*, and a *bhēruṇḍa* pole—perhaps the length of the pillar—appears to have been used as a measure for land<sup>6</sup>. One of these records contains a grant of five *mattas* of rice land, according to the *bhēruṇḍa* pole to provide for the worship at the *basadi* of the Baḷagāra-gaṇa connected with Jājāhuti-Śāntinātha. This inscription is dated A. D. 1048<sup>7</sup>. The other which is also dated in the same year mentions a grant to the same *basadi* of Balarar, consisting of five *mattas* of rice land

<sup>1</sup> E. C., XI, Dg, 42.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, P. S. and O. C. *Inscriptions*, No. 119; Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 151.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 75. Cf. Cousens, *The Chalukyan Architecture*, p. 108.

<sup>6</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., IV, p. 180; E. C., VII, Sk, 120.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

by the measure of the staff Bhērūṇḍagaḷe, in the rice-land called Pulleya-bayal of the capital of Beḷagāmi. It would appear from the inscription that this Jaina congregation of Baḷagāra was held in high veneration for its austerity. It was in admiration of them that Kēśavanandi, who was himself an ascetic and disciple of Mēśha-nandibhaṭṭāraka of the same *gaṇa*, made this grant<sup>1</sup>.

Chāmuṇḍa Rāya again appears in A. D. 1063. The inscription says that he was acting as king in that year, when he made a grant of "the *vaḍḍa-rāvuḷa* and *perḷjunka* (or principal customs dues) to the god... of the... *agrahāra*"<sup>2</sup>.

In the two inscriptions from Beḷagāmi, spoken of above, Chāmuṇḍa Rāya is said to be a *mūḡurāyāsthāna* (ಮುಗುರಾಯಾಸ್ಥಾನ) <sup>3</sup>. This title has been variously interpreted by the epigraphists. When in 1875 Dr. Fleet published the inscription he found at Beḷagāmi in *The Indian Antiquary*, he translated this expression as 'he who has three royal halls of audience'<sup>4</sup>. But he soon found out his mistake and in another article which he contributed in the following year to *The Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society* he took this expression to mean *mūḡurāyasthāpanāchārya* (ಮುಗುರಾಯಾಸ್ಥಾನಪದಾಚಾರ್ಯ), or the establisher of Mūḡu kings<sup>5</sup>. Mr. Rice on the other hand has rendered the same expression as 'a brave at the court of three kings'<sup>6</sup>. This seems to be more accurate not merely because the Mūḡu country is far removed from the Banavasi province, but because this rendering is simple and direct.

Who were these three kings whose court was thus adorned by Chāmuṇḍa Rāya? We suppose that they were the three Chalukya Emperors, namely Vikramāditya V, Jayasimha III and Somēśvara I. According to this theory therefore, Chāmuṇḍa Rāya entered the services of the Chalukyas towards the end of Vikramāditya V's reign and remained in office sometime after 1063. In fact one of his inscriptions tells us that he was acting at this time as king over the whole of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand, having for his minister Sōmanāthaiya, and that he made a grant of the *vaḍḍa-rāvuḷa*

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscription*, J. A., IV, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 11.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Sk, 120; Fleet, o. c., p. 179.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, l. c.

<sup>5</sup> Fleet, *Copper Plate Grants of the Kings of Vijayanagara*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XII, p. 376.

<sup>6</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 120.

and the *perjjunka* to the god of the *agrahāra*<sup>1</sup>. He seems to have retired for good from service somewhere before A. D. 1066, for after this date he is heard of no more.

It appears from one of these inscriptions from Beḷagāmi that this city was the capital of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand when Chāmuṇḍa Rāya was the governor of this province<sup>2</sup>; and as will presently be seen, it continued to enjoy this unique privilege when other governors succeeded him in the interval.

We must not suppose however that Chāmuṇḍa Rāya was the governor of Banavasi all the while. The work of efficient administration and defence required his presence in other parts of the Empire and accordingly the Banavasi-nāḍ was placed under new governors. In the year 1053 when perhaps there was comparative peace in the kingdom, Maḷala-dēvi, one of the wives of Sōmēśvara was appointed to the governorship of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand<sup>3</sup>. This was the year when the Chalukyas had won the eventful battle of Koppam, whose exact date is given as May 23rd, 1053<sup>4</sup>. Though Rājendra, the brother of the Chōḷa King slain on this occasion, subsequently retrieved the losses by bringing in reinforcement, his attention was soon diverted by fresh troubles at home consequent on the rival candidates contesting the succession with him<sup>5</sup>.

But it is clear from another inscription dated 1055-56 that this important province was soon entrusted together with the Ganga-vāḍi Ninety-six Thousand to Vikramāditya, the son of Sōmēśvara I<sup>6</sup>. The same inscription informs us that the actual governor of Banavasi at this period was King Harikēsari, of the Kadamba family.

This change was doubtless effected because of the renewed warfare by the Chōḷas under their new King Rājendra Chōḷa, who, having suppressed his political opponents at home, had now launched on the aggressive policy of his predecessors<sup>7</sup>. Vikra-

<sup>1</sup> E. C. VII, Sk, 11.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Kanārese Dynasties*, p. 504. (Ink impression by Dr. Fleet)

<sup>3</sup> *Carn. Desa Inscriptions*, I, p. 122, referred to by Fleet, *o. c.*, p. 440. The ink impression of the record, says Dr. Fleet, does not include the date.

<sup>4</sup> *S. I. I.*, I, pp. 52, 134; *Ibid.*, II, pp. 232, 307.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 112.

<sup>6</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canārese Inscriptions*, I. A., IV, p. 203.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Subrahmanya Aiyer, *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, p. 151.

māditya remained as Viceroy in the south till A. D. 1060<sup>1</sup>, and it may be presumed that the Banavasi and the Nolambavāḍi provinces, continued to be administered during this period by his subordinate Harikēśari.

There is a viragal of the time of Vikramāditya which gives him Ganga titles and calls him Chalukya-Ganga-Permmāṇaḍi-Vikramāditya-dēva. It records that his great minister was a certain Perggaḍe Nāranayya, chief of the *Karaṇas*, who was enjoying the Banavasi Twelve Thousand. The same viragal informs us that in A. D. 1058 when Vikramāditya was the governor of the provinces named above, a force of Bēḍas penetrated into Muḍyangeri, seized the cows and dishonoured the women. The ūr-gāvunḍa Māchayya fought against these barbarians and having killed many of them, recovered the cows at Belagavatti, but was at length overpowered by the superior numbers of the enemy<sup>2</sup>.

A grant issued in A.D. 1068 represents Lakshmanṇipa, who was "the chief master of robes" at the court of Sōmēśvara I, as ruling the Banavasi country<sup>3</sup>. He was probably the immediate successor of Vikramāditya, and acted as governor from 1066-1068 A. D.

The grant of Lakshmaṇa above referred to was issued in the reign of King Bhuvanaikamalla, i. e. the Chalukya King Somēśvara II. It begins with the eulogy of his father's rule, who left no evil persons or enemies in Kuntala. It is said that the kings of Laṭa Kaḷiṅga, Gaṅga, Karahāṭa, Turushka, Varāḷa, Chōḷa, Kaṇṇaṭaka, Saurāshṭra, Māḷava, Daśarṇṇa, Kōśala, Kēraḷa and other countries gave tribute to him and were confined to their own boundaries. He boasts of having slain Magadha, Āndhra, Avanti, Vaṅga, Draviḷa, Kuru, Khasa, Abhira, Pañchāḷa, Lāḷa and other kings and made their forces serve him. In spite of all these wars the strength of his arm and the energy of his soul were not exhausted, and he is said to have set out alone (for *svarga*) as if to fight against Indra, defeat him and make him give tribute. Accordingly on the 8th day of *Chaitra bahuḷā*, the year Kīlaka, Ś. 990 (29th March, 1068), performing the supreme *yōga*, he breathed his last in the Tuṅga-bhadra. The reason for performing this rite, which is commonly known as *Jalasamādhi*<sup>4</sup>, is given by Bhilhaṇa in his *Vikramānka-*

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 152; XI, Dg, 140.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 83.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 136.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 84.

*dēvacharita*. According to him King Somēśvara I was seized with a severe fever, and feeling that his end was approaching, had himself conveyed to the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra. While bathing in the river after having given away much gold in charity, he waded in until the water reached his neck and amidst the din of the waves and the sound of all kinds of musical instruments deliberately drowned himself<sup>1</sup>.

The inscription goes on to say that on the 7th day of *Vaiśākha* *suddha*, the year Kilaka, Ś. 990 (11th April, 1068), i. e. fourteen days after this tragic event, his eldest son Sōmēśvara II assumed the sovereignty with all the royal insignia, and "the whole desire of the world was drawn to him". The Chōla King thought of taking advantage of the youth and inexperience of the new ruler, and is said to have exclaimed: "A new reign (a kingdom) fit only for a hero; now is the time to invade it. I will surround Gutti and besiege it". This he did with a considerable army. Sōmēśvara at once mustered a strong force to oppose him, and on the advanced cavalry coming into contact a fierce battle ensued, in which the Chōla army was routed and dispersed. Consequently all the foreign kings are said to have been stricken with terror, and gladly became Sōmēśvara's vassals. After this victory Lakshma, who is represented as indispensable to the Chalukya kingdom as the governor of Banavasi, was given a royal *śāsana* which conferred extraordinary honours upon him. "Junior is King Vikrama-Gaṅga to me; to that Permmāḍi-Dēva; the next junior is Vira Noḷamba-Dēva; to me, to Permmāḍi, and to Singi you are the junior, but to you all (the rest) are juniors", said Sōmēśvara, thus ranking him next to the royal family. Lakshmaṇa became the lord of the great Banavasi-nāḍ, Vikrama-Noḷamba was rewarded with the fief of Noḷamba-Sinḍavāḍi, and Ganga-maṇḍalika became the governor of the territory beginning from Aḷam-pura. Bhuvanaikamalla gave them these countries, in view of their being as a long bar or defence to the south<sup>2</sup>.

Lakshmaṇa is said to have trodden down Koṅkaṇa, driven back the seven Kombu, and uprooted the seven Male. He is styled Rāya-daṇḍa Gōpāla, and united in himself the chief heroic characters of both the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Bhārata*<sup>3</sup>.

His minister and chief treasurer was Śāntinātha, a distinguished Jaina poet. He had the title of *Sarasvatī-mukha-mukura*, and he

<sup>1</sup> Bühler, *Vikramānandadevacharita*, pp. 32-34, vv. 44-68.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 136.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

was the author of the *Sukumāracharita*. He persuaded Lakshmaṇa to build the wooden *basadi* of *Mallikāmōda Śāntinūtha* in Baligrāma (Beḷagāmi), and he set up a stone pillar at the main entrance, recounting all his names and titles. Having obtained the permission of the Emperor, he made a grant to the *basadis* of all the property which formerly belonged to the other *basadis*.

Lakshma was in office for a very short period; for we see that in 1070 A.D. he was succeeded by the Ganga prince Udayāditya. A grant of the latter dated about A.D. 1070 gives him the titles of Mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara, boon lord of Kōḷāla-pura, lord of Nandagiri, Vikrama-Ganga and *Jayad-uttaranga*, and adds that he was ruling the Gangavāḍi, Banavasi and the Sāntaḷige provinces <sup>1</sup>. The records of 1074 style him the mahāsāmantādhipati, the great minister, mahā-prachaṇḍa-daṇḍanāyaka, chief over the property of the court, great senior minister of peace and war, and mane-verggaḍe-daṇḍanāyaka <sup>2</sup>. He is described in these inscriptions as the governor of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand and the Sāntaḷige Thousand <sup>3</sup>, from which we conclude that a new governor was appointed at this date for the Gangavāḍi province. His Kerehalli (Nagar Taluqua) grant informs us that he was in charge of the taxes, such as the *Sayār*, the *vaḍḍa-rāvuḷa* and the *perjjunka* of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand and the *bilkoḍe* and the *perjjunka* of the Sāntaḷige Thousand <sup>4</sup>.

It appears from his inscriptions that Udayāditya was a generous prince who combined the man of dissipation with the devotee. We are told in one of these epigraphs that he laved the feet of the god Garuḍēśvara of the Mūlasāhāna Kerehalli and made a grant either of money or of land to the students <sup>5</sup>. Another record represents him as granting, for the god's perpetual lamp and for oil for the lights of the *maṭha* at Kuṭṭūr, half the revenue of the four customs duties of the *vaḍḍa-rāvuḷa*, the *perjjunka*, and the two *bilkoḍe* that were levied on all the imported articles at this place <sup>6</sup>. On the other hand a third inscription of his records a grant made by him to the dancing girls for the purpose of buying looking glasses <sup>7</sup>, which incident might

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 109.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 295; VIII, Sb, 299.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.; E. C., VIII, Ng, 30.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 299.

<sup>7</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 295.

perhaps suggest that he was a great lover of dancing. It may also be inferred from another epigraph of the same period that he hopelessly lapsed into debauchery, and his official duties must in consequence have suffered from neglect. There is a grant he made to a dancing girl by name Lachhavi-dēvi, who apparently was his mistress. The record describes her as "the beloved of his heart and eyes, constant sharer in a thousand supreme delights and pleasures, equal to a second Lakshmi, by nature formed for good fortune, in gifts the *Vidyādhari* (or fairy) of the world, skilled in all accomplishments, with eyes of the wild partridge (*chakōra*), with graceful languid gait, devoted to singing and dancing, a head-jewel of intelligence, a protecting jewel to dependents, to beggars a moving treasure-urn, obtainer of a boon from the goddess *Sārādā*, Udayāditya-dēva's other half, mistress of astonishing feeling and sentiment in bright and new mode of charming" <sup>1</sup>.

It was probably at this period when Udayāditya was whiling away his time with his mistress at Beḷagāmi and the two brothers Somēśvara and Vikramāditya were engaged in a disastrous civil war that Kīrttivarmma renounced his allegiance to the Chalukyas and asserted his independence <sup>2</sup>. We have seen that the rebellion was promptly subdued by Jayakēśi I of Goa, and Udayāditya who had failed in his duty was either degraded or dismissed from his office on the accession of Vikramāditya. His name does not occur in the subsequent records till we come to A. D. 1112.

The insurrection of Kīrttivarmma taught a good lesson to the Chalukya sovereign, inasmuch as it shewed him the necessity of exercising a stronger hold over the feudatories in the south. Accordingly we see him appointing his brother Jayasimha as the viceroy of Banavasi. Bilhapa says in his *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita* that soon after he took the reins of government into his hands Vikramāditya gave his younger brother the office of viceroy of Vanavāsa <sup>3</sup>. The appointment was probably made about A. D. 1076. For a record dated in the following year represents Jayasimha as already holding that position <sup>4</sup>.

Jayasimha acted as Yuva-rāja at Banavasi for a period of over four years. The records of this period style him "Yuva-rāja Chālu-

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 109.

<sup>2</sup> Ante, pp. 110-111.

<sup>3</sup> Bühler, *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita*, pp. 44-45, v. 99; I. A., V, p. 323.

<sup>4</sup> *Carn. Desa Inscriptions*, I, p. 287, referred to by Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 449.

kya-Pallava Permmāṇḍi-dēva Vīra Noḷamba," and credit him with the wardenship of the Sāntāḷige Thousand, the Beḷvala Three Hundred, the Puligere Three Hundred, and the Basavaḷḷi Thousand<sup>1</sup>.

But the office of mahāsāmantādhipati or governor was not abolished when Jayasīṃha was appointed the viceroy. For Udayāditya's place was in the meantime filled by Barmma-dēvarasa. From the two records of this governor dated 1077, we may infer that he held office directly under Vikramāditya, as they do not refer to Jayasīṃha as the superior of Barmma-dēvarasa<sup>2</sup>. This may lead us to conclude that during the first period of his viceroyalty Jayasīṃha's duties mainly consisted in supervising the activities of the mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras, and he exercised little or no control over the governors. The inscriptions of Barmma-dēvarasa above referred to indicate that he was in charge of the same provinces as were governed by his predecessor Udayāditya. These were the Banavasi Twelve Thousand, Sāntāḷige Thousand and the eighteen *agrahūras*<sup>3</sup>.

Barmma-dēvarasa was soon succeeded by the danḍanāyaka Bala-dēvayya. The lithic record that mentions his name is dated 1080 A. D. and alludes to Yuva-rāja Jayasīṃha as his immediate superior<sup>4</sup>. This shows that Jayasīṃha had by this time come to exercise authority over the governors as well.

Jayasīṃha held the office of viceroy till A. D. 1080, when he was deposed. The circumstances leading to his downfall are narrated by Bilhana in his *Vikramāṅka-dēvacharita*. He tells us that towards the end of the rainy season, Vikramāditya was informed by a confidential adviser that Jayasīṃha, his brother, was meditating treason. In proof of his assertion the reporter stated that Jayasīṃha was amassing wealth by oppressing his subjects, that he had increased his army and had subjected the forest tribes to himself, that he was seeking the friendship of the Drāviḍa king, and that, worst of all, he was trying to seduce Vikramāditya's soldiers from their allegiance. Vikramāditya on the news of the treachery being confirmed through the agency of his spies, addressed friendly exhortations to his brother to the effect that he should desist from his evil purpose. But it was all in vain. Jayasīṃha, joined by

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.; E. C., VII, Sk, 293, 297.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 44, 124.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 297.

many maṇḍalīkas, advanced northwards and encamped on the banks of the Kṛishṇa. Vikramāditya was thus compelled to take the field in self defence. Collecting a large army he also advanced to the Kṛishṇa. A battle was fought, Jayasīṃha's army was scattered and its leader was captured in his flight through the jungles. Bilhaṇa concludes this woeful tale by saying that "though Vikrama would have had reason enough to deal hardly with the captive, he spoke kindly to him and consoled him"<sup>1</sup>. But he does not tell us what finally became of Jayasīṃha.

It appears from an inscription of 1088 A.D. that a certain mahāsāmantādhipati Guṇḍamarasa was appointed about this time the governor of the Banavasi province. The record represents him as ruling "the *kampana*, the *agrahāra*, both the *vaḍḍa-rāvula* and the *hejjunka*, and the *bilkode* in the Banavāse-nāḍ"<sup>2</sup>. The grant accords to him the titles of mahāsāmantādhipati, the great minister and daṇḍanāyaka, and mane-verggaḍe daṇḍanāyaka. But we do not know how long he held this office, as this is the only record of his that is extant. It was probably under Guṇḍamarasa that mādhuvapayya was acting as the *perggaḍe* of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand. The record which gives this detail is dated 1084 A.D.<sup>3</sup>

Daṇḍanātha Śrī-dharayya was very likely the successor of Guṇḍamarasa. A grant of A.D. 1089 tells us that he was ruling the Mēlvatte *vaḍḍa-rāvula* and the two *bilkode*. The record gives him the usual titles of the governors<sup>4</sup>. Changa-dēvayya is said to be the *perggaḍe* under him, and it appears that he was charged with the collection of the grain customs of Banavasi<sup>5</sup>.

Dēvappayya Chaveṇḍarasa was the next governor of Banavasi. A record of about A.D. 1092 gives him the titles of great minister and general, superintendent of the guards of the female apartments, and *perggaḍe* daṇḍanāyaka of the Banavasi-nāḍ<sup>6</sup>.

Dr. Fleet has mentioned that in 1098-99 the Banavasi province was ruled by the daṇḍanāyaka Padmanābhayya<sup>7</sup>.

Mahāpradhāna, Banavāsi-verggaḍe, daṇḍanāyaka Anantapāla,

<sup>1</sup> Bühler, *Vikramankadevacharita*, pp. 922-924, cantos XIV and XV; I. A., V, p. 323.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VII, Sk. 111.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb. 236.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> E. C., VII, Sk. 166.

<sup>6</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 451. Dr. Fleet does not mention the source of his information.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., Sb. 388.

also styled mahāsāmantādhipati, was the governor for the next thirteen years<sup>1</sup>. He was ruling the Gajagaṇḍa Six Hundred and the Banavasi Twelve Thousand with the management of the *achcha-pannāya* tax of the Seven-and-a-half Lakh country in about A. D. 1100<sup>2</sup>. The records of 1103 and 1104 invest him with the government of the same districts and the management of the *vaḍḍa-rāvuḷa* and the *perjjunka* thereof<sup>3</sup>. In 1107 he is described as ruling the two Six Hundreds and the Banavasi Twelve Thousand<sup>4</sup>, and it is possible that in 1110 he held the same provinces<sup>5</sup>.

In 1112-13 the mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Udayāditya Ganga Permmāḍi-dēva, of the Western Ganga family, was given the province of Banavasi Twelve Thousand and the Sāntaḷige Thousand. This is for the first and the last time we hear of this prince after his deposition in 1075<sup>6</sup>. He remained in office for only one year, when Anantapāla was again entrusted with the government of the Banavasi country<sup>7</sup>. We may surmise that having now advanced in years Udayāditya died of old age.

The Chalukya official in charge of the various taxes of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand during the governorship of Anantapāla was one Gōvindarasa. He is not accorded any titles in the early Chalukya records, but the later ones indicate that he rapidly ascended the official ladder until at last he was made mahāsāmanta and confirmed in or about A.D. 1117 as the governor of the Banavasi province<sup>8</sup>. We shall now trace his career. An inscription of about 1100 describes him as an ordinary Chalukya official with the management of the Mēlvatṭe *vaḍḍa-rāvuḷa*<sup>9</sup>. In 1103 he became a *daṇḍanāyaka*<sup>10</sup>, and in the following year he was managing the *vaḍḍa-rāvuḷa* of the Banavasi province and the *achcha-pannāya* of the Fifty Six<sup>11</sup>. In 1107 he rose to the office of *mahā-prachaṇḍa-daṇḍanāyaka* and was in charge of the *vaḍḍa-rāvuḷa*, the *perjjunka*, and the two *bilcode* of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand<sup>12</sup>. The title

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 311.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 98, 131; VIII, Sb, 564; Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. 139, 512; Fleet, P. S. & O. C. *Inscriptions*, No. 171.

<sup>4</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 192.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., Sk, 149.

<sup>6</sup> Ante, p. 121.

<sup>7</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 451.

<sup>8</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 316.

<sup>9</sup> Fleet, o. c., p. 451; E. C., VII, Sk, 311.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 98.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 131.

<sup>12</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 192.

of mahāsāmantādhipati was soon conferred upon him and in 1108 he acted in the place of Anantapāla as the governor of the Banavasi province<sup>1</sup>. In 1117 however he was raised to the dignity of great minister and succeeded Anantapāla as the governor of Banavasi<sup>2</sup>.

Gōvinda-dēva ruled for a period of six years when he was succeeded by the mane-verggaḍe-daṇḍanāyaka Sālipayya who is styled the great minister. In 1123 Sālipayya had under him one Rāmayya who was obviously the *perggaḍe* of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand<sup>3</sup>.

Bhōgayya was the next Chalukya governor. An inscription of 1126 calls him the Kannaḍa minister for peace and war, general of the army and the mane-verggaḍe daṇḍanāyaka. It also mentions one Mēdimayya who, as is plain from his title, was in charge of the *vaḍḍa-rāvuḷa*. Here the governor is said to have granted to a temple '1 load in 100 loads of salt, and one *hūga* for 200 loads of grain'<sup>4</sup>.

We do not find the name of any governor in the inscriptions, for the subsequent period of fifteen years. This was possibly because of the unsettled state of the country due to the protracted struggle between the Hoysaḷas and the Kadambas.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Sk, 294.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Sk, 246.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 170.

## CHAPTER IX

### Taila II

Taila was the son of Śāntivarmma II and of his Pāṇḍya consort Siriya-dēvi<sup>1</sup>. The Kadamba inscriptions of this period do not say when precisely he came to the throne. However the fact that the latest date for Śāntivarmma afforded by the epigraphs is A. D. 1088<sup>2</sup> and the earliest record of Taila was issued in 1099<sup>3</sup>, may lead us to infer that A. D. 1094-95 was probably the year of his accession.

The early records of this ruler mostly associate him with the government only of Hāṅgal<sup>4</sup>. But all the later ones, as also that of Kargudari (1108), invariably assert that he was ruling the Hāṅgal as well as the Banavasi provinces<sup>5</sup>. This might confirm our view that by virtue of the agreement that had been arrived at in the previous reign, Tailapa succeeded to the principality of Hāṅgal, which was held by his father, while Kīrttivarmma continued to govern the Banavasi Twelve Thousand till about A. D. 1116 when he died<sup>6</sup>. Thereafter however the two provinces were brought under the rule of Tailapa. In fact his records issued after this date contain grants made by him both to private persons and to public institutions within the Banavasi-nāḍ<sup>7</sup>. These records also indicate that in the latter part of his reign he acquired the Sāntaḷige Thousand<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Sancrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., X, p. 254.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 561.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> *E. I.*, XIII, pp. 14, 15, 17.

<sup>5</sup> Appendix, No. III, 9, 10; *E. C.*, VII, H1, 47; Sk, 100; VIII, Sb, 127.

<sup>6</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 337. This is the last inscription of Kīrttivarmma.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., Sb, 141, 357; VII, Sk, 100.

<sup>8</sup> *E. C.*, VII, H1, 47; VIII, Sb, 141.

We are told in one of his early inscriptions that he married a Pāṇḍya princess named Bāchala-dēvi<sup>1</sup>. She was probably a sister of Tribhuvanamalla, the Pāṇḍya ruler of Uchchangi, who was a contemporary of Tailapa<sup>2</sup>. This event might suggest a political alliance concluded between the two neighbouring powers with a view to the defence of each other's territories. Indeed a glance at the state of affairs in the Dekkan would show us that the position of these chiefs as mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras was at this time seriously threatened by the growing power of the Hoysaḷas. The latter had risen to prominence by the distinguished services they had rendered to the Chalukyas in their wars against the Chōḷas and the Māḷawas, and were now attempting to impose their overlordship on the neighbouring kings.

It seems possible that in compliance with the terms of the treaty, Tailapa was forced into a war with the Hoysaḷas in 1116, when the latter under their great King Vishṇuvardhana attacked the Pāṇḍyas. The result of this expedition was that the Pāṇḍyas were defeated at the battle of Dumme<sup>3</sup>, and the conquest of Uchchangi was soon completed by Chāma-dēva, the general of Vishṇuvardhana<sup>4</sup>.

On the conclusion of this war, Vishṇuvardhana started to lead predatory excursions into the Kadamba territories. These inroads were undertaken possibly with the object of revenging himself on the Kadambas for having assisted the Pāṇḍyas. The two undated inscriptions assigned to 1120 A.D. describe him as 'the capturer of Gangavāḍi, Noḷambavāḍi, Uchchangi and Hānūṅgal'<sup>5</sup>. Moreover they also style him 'Vīra-Gaṅga Poysaḷa-Deva', in contrast to the later records which add the word 'Kadamba' to his titles. This shows that he had not as yet conquered the Kadambas, but was merely raiding their kingdom. In fact the Hoysaḷa inscriptions of this period speak of him as 'subduing the pride of the Kadambas' which obviously means that he had not subdued them when this grant was issued.

Vishṇuvardhana continued to lead military expeditions of this kind till A. D. 1130, when he attacked Hāṅgal itself with the inten-

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., X, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., XI, Dg, 39, 151, 155.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VI, Cm, 99.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Cm, 29, 30.

<sup>5</sup> E. C., V, Cn, 212; VI, Tk, 76.

tion of finally overthrowing the Kadambas, and annexing their kingdom<sup>1</sup>. It was probably before he besieged Hāṅgal that he defeated Maṣaṇa and took possession of Banavasi<sup>2</sup>. Maṣaṇa was very likely the Kadamba governor of Banavasi; for an inscription of 1130 styles him 'maṇḍalika'<sup>3</sup>. The Hoysaḷa record of 1137 referring to this battle states that Viṣṇuvardhana destroyed "root and branch Maṣaṇa, who was a torment to the country", and "wrote down Banavāsi Twelve Thousand in his *kadita* (account book)"<sup>4</sup>.

After reducing Banavasi, Viṣṇuvardhana seems to have proceeded north to Hāṅgal, the capital of the Kadambas. On the way he was met by Taila Nāga, the brother-in-law and generalissimo of Tailapa-dēva, who seems to have attempted to prevent Viṣṇuvardhana from crossing the Dharma stream, which lies half way between Banavasi and Hāṅgal. But Viṣṇuvardhana succeeded in making his way across the river, after defeating and slaying the Kadamba general. It may be inferred from the viragal giving us this valuable piece of information, that this battle was fought on the river, since a raft (ಬೆಳ್ಳೆ ತೆವ್ವ) seems to have played its part during the action<sup>5</sup>. The Kadamba army probably escaped to Hāṅgal, closely pursued by the Hoysaḷas, who subsequently besieged the capital. Tailapa put up a very stout resistance, as can be gathered from the two Hoysaḷa viragals, which may be assigned to this period. These memorial tablets whilst exalting the valour of the Hoysaḷa heroes that fell on this occasion also throw some light on the desperate fight that was maintained by the Kadambas. "When Viṣṇuvardhana was ruling", says one of these viragals, "on his besieging the fort of Hānūṅgal, Dēva, the Rakkasa warrior of Bidirūr, attacked the troops of elephants and horses, but finding the supply of arrows exhausted, he applied to Dēvaṇṇa, and being favoured with his quiver, marched again to the battle, killed many and attained the world of gods"<sup>6</sup>. The other viragal refers to Viṣṇuvardhana's general Muḡuvanahisa of Bidirūr, who fought "against the troops of elephants and horses in the fort of Hāṅgal and attained the world of gods"<sup>7</sup>.

But the efforts of Tailapa were of no avail. The fort was very likely surrendered to the enemy and Tailapa himself was

<sup>1</sup> Cf. below, p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., V, Bl, 17.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix, No. III, 11.

<sup>4</sup> M. A. R., 1916, p. 52.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 52.

<sup>6</sup> E. C., VII, H1, 47.

<sup>7</sup> E. C., V, Bl, 17.

either killed in the thick of the fight or was captured and beheaded by Vishṇuvardhana. The Hoysala records give us the latter version<sup>1</sup>, while the Kadamba inscription merely says that he went to *svarga* on Monday, November 14th, 1130<sup>2</sup>. It also records that on this day Boppana, the younger brother of Masaṇayya "making good his word (given) for the occasion (*vāḷevūkyam*), went to *svarga* with Tailapa-Dēva". This would perhaps mean that Boppana, in fulfilment of the vow he had taken to live and die with the King, committed suicide on the death of Tailapa.

It may be inferred from a viragal of A. D. 1127, that Tailapa II was also engaged in hostilities at this date with the Śāntara King Pērmāḍi. The possible reason for this strained relationship was that the Śāntara King being dispossessed of his dominions either by his overlord or by Taila, attempted to recover his lost kingdom by force of arms. Hence he invested the city of Iśapura, for whose relief the mane-veggāḍe daṇḍanāyaka Masaṇayya sent his whole army under his brother-in-law Kaliga Nāyaka<sup>3</sup>. The Śāntara troops were easily dispersed, for we find the Śāntarige Thousand in a record of 1130 still in the possession of the Kadambas<sup>4</sup>.

Tailapa-dēva though he failed in his foreign policy, was nevertheless remarkably successful in the internal administration of his kingdom. He had above all the good of his subjects at heart, which is attested by the large public works he undertook during his reign. It can be deduced from a record of 1129 that he started many useful schemes for the improvement of agriculture in the country. Fresh channels and tanks were constructed by his orders and the uncultivated land was thus brought under cultivation<sup>5</sup>. On the other hand liberal arts were not neglected. The records show that considerable stimulus was given to learning and to religion. The *agrahāra* of Beḷagāmi received his patronage in a special manner<sup>6</sup>. He repaired old shrines and built new ones which he endowed with rich grants of land<sup>7</sup>. An inscription of 1107 tells us that he worshipped the feet of Mahēndra Sōma Pandita-dēva, the *āchārya* of the sanctuary of Mahā-svayambhu-Sōmanātha, and granted as an imperial gift the town of Kallavaṇa for the maintenance of the temple<sup>8</sup>. Another inscription of A.D. 1120, found at

<sup>1</sup> E. C., XII, Tp, 31.    <sup>2</sup> E. C., VII, H1, 47.    <sup>3</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 141.

<sup>4</sup> E. C., VII, H1, 47.    <sup>5</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 359.    <sup>6</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 100.

<sup>7</sup> Fleet, *Sanscrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., X, p. 254.

<sup>8</sup> E. I., XVI, p. 42.

the entrance of Haḷekōṭe at Hāṅgal, states that he made a grant of three plots of fertile land to the temple of the god Hanuman, for the purpose of supplying sandal wood and incense to the god and clothes and loin cloth to the ascetics. Further in order to meet the usual expenses, he bequeathed to the temple a part of the tax on pepper and salt-bags<sup>1</sup>.

The inscriptions of Tailapa mention the name of perggade Nāga-dēva, who was probably the excise commissioner of the country. He is described as the chief minister of the mighty Tailapa-dēva. The customs official under him was one Kēśirāja<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Appendix, No. III, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 10.

## CHAPTER X

### Mayuravarmma III

**T**he war between the Kadambas and the Hoysalas continued in the reign of Mayūravarmma III. He was the eldest son of Tailapa and succeeded the latter on his death during the siege of Hāṅgal<sup>1</sup>. The two inscriptions of this ruler dated 1031 describe him as the ruler of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand<sup>2</sup>, the Hāṅgal Five Hundred, and the Sāntalige Thousand, which clearly shows that the Kadambas had not been completely vanquished, but were still fighting for their possessions.

It may be inferred from a viragal at Hāṅgal that Masanayya, the veteran general of the Kadambas, was conducting the operations. For it avers that at the request of "Masana who was the patron and superior Nāyaka, Basava of great prowess, for the protection of the titles of the boy king Hemma, mounted his horse to fight with Malla at the head of 500 cavalry of Tailapa. Basava drove away the besiegers with great vehemence, struck to drive away the enemy, being angry, conquered some of them, and cut them into halves"<sup>3</sup>. The boy king mentioned here by the name of Hemma was probably Mayūravarmma, who, it would appear, was young at the death of his father. Mayūravarmma was evidently his title and Hemma was most likely his real name. It is possible that in the midst of this struggle Mayūravarmma died, for in the following year (1132) we see his brother Mallikārjuna ruling the same provinces of Banavasi Twelve Thousand and Hāṅgal Five Hundred<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 49; VII, H1, 47.

<sup>2</sup> *Carn. Desa Inscriptions*, I, pp. 703, 706, referred to by Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 562. <sup>3</sup> Appendix, No. III, 12; E. C., VII, H1, 47.

<sup>4</sup> *Carn. Desa Inscriptions*, I, p. 636, referred to by Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 562.

## CHAPTER XI

### Mallikarjuna

Mallikārjuna very probably succeeded for the time being in ousting the Hoysaḷas from Hāṅgal and Banavasi. A viragal of the year 1138 remarks that Vīra-Gaṅga Hoysaḷa-dēva set out on an expedition of conquest, and crossing over the Tuṅgabhadrā, marched to Banavasi-nāḍi, and in Dhanur-māsa of the Śaka year 1080, the year Kālayukti, laid siege to Banavasi and the fort of Hāṅgal<sup>1</sup>. This campaign was evidently necessitated by the recovery of his lost territories by Mallikārjuna. We are told that on this occasion the latter entrusted the defence of the fort to his veteran general Maṣaṇa<sup>2</sup>. Further in order to divert the attention of Viṣṇuvardhana, the Kadamba King seems to have instructed Jakki-setṭi to raid Hiria-Māguḍi, which was probably a stronghold of the Hoysaḷas<sup>3</sup>. However in spite of the strenuous efforts of the brave Kadamba monarch, the expedition resulted in a great success for Viṣṇuvardhana. A grant which he issued in the following year describes him as the "capturer of Taḷakāḍu, Koṅgu, Nangali, Gaṅgavāḍi, Noḷambavāḍi, Banavase and Hānuṅgal", and states that he was at this time "in the camp of the royal city (*rājadhāni*) Baṅkāpura ruling the kingdom of the world"<sup>4</sup>. It was very likely soon after the fall of Hāṅgal that the fierce battle at Baṅkāpur, referred to in a viragal of this period, was fought between the Kadambas and the Hoysaḷas. The latter again came out victorious and Maṣaṇa of Tagare, who was the general of the Kadamba forces, lost his son, Sōvaṇa on the battle-field<sup>5</sup>. Consequently Baṅkāpur passed into the

<sup>1</sup> E. C., V, B1, 202.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 414.

<sup>3</sup> M. A. R., 1926, p. 45.

<sup>4</sup> M. A. R., 1926, p. 45.

<sup>5</sup> E. C., V, Cn, 199.

hands of Vishṇuvardhana who made it one of his capitals (ರಾಜಧಾನಿ)<sup>1</sup>. Having temporarily deprived Jayakēśi II, the Goa Kadamba King, of his province of Halsi in 1140, Vishṇuvardhana was ruling that year from his capital of Baṅkāpur his vast kingdom, which comprised the Gangavāḍi Ninety-six Thousand, the Banavasi Twelve Thousand, the Palāsige Twelve Thousand and the Six Hundreds "under the shadow of his sole umbrella"<sup>2</sup>. He seems to have made Hāṅgal also one of his residences, for in the same year we see him with his crowned Queen Bammala-dēvi ruling the kingdom from Hāṅgal<sup>3</sup>. We also learn from an inscription in the Sorab Taluqua that he appointed his own governor to collect the regalia from the province of Banavasi<sup>4</sup>, thereby flouting the authority of the Emperor who alone possessed the right to collect the imperial dues from this province. In fact Jagadēkamalla the reigning Emperor had already had his governor in the Banavasi province in the person of the Perggaḍe-daṇḍanāyaka Bammaṇayya<sup>5</sup>.

In the same year when Vishṇuvardhana was at his royal city of Baṅkāpura, Jayakēśi II, the Goa Kadamba King, taking advantage of his absence, raided the city of Hāṅgal<sup>6</sup>. This he did probably in retaliation of the predatory raid of the Hoysaḷas in that year on Palāsika (Halsi), which was one of the seats of Jayakēśi's government<sup>7</sup>.

But the triumph of Vishṇuvardhana was soon clouded by the arrival and attack of the Sinda chief Pērmāḍi. The military activities of the Hoysaḷas had long attracted the notice of the Chalukya Emperor Jagadēkamalla II, who eventually deputed his loyal feudatory Pērmāḍi I to check their growing power. A Sinda record assigned to A. D. 1144, speaking about this campaign of Pērmāḍi says: "He seized upon the royal power of Poysaḷa, who was the foremost of the fierce rulers of the earth, and acquired the reputation of being himself proof against all reverses. Going to the mountain passes of the marauder Biṭṭiga, plundering him, besieging Dhōrasamudra, and pursuing him till he arrived at, and

<sup>1</sup> E. C., V, Cn, 199.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Ak, 18.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., XII, Gb, 13.

<sup>4</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 348.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, pp. 457-458.

<sup>6</sup> E. C., VI, Cn, 122.

<sup>7</sup> E. C., V, Ak, 18.

took the city of Bēlupura, king Pēma, of great glory—driving him before him with the help of his sword, arriving at the mountain pass of Vāhaḍi, and overcoming all obstacles,—acquired celebrity in the world. Pursuing and seizing in war the friends, (mighty) as elephants (though they were), of the kings who joined king Biṭṭiga in the work of slaughter, (Pērmāḍi) unequalled in his great impetuosity, brought them (back as captives) with derisive cheers”<sup>1</sup>.

Though Vishṇuvardhana died in 1141<sup>2</sup> after his defeat at the hands of the Sinda chief, the struggle was continued for a period of two years more. A viragal of A. D. 1143 records that when Tribhuvanamalla Malli-dēvarasa (Mallikārjuna) “was ruling the kingdom of the Haive Five Hundred, Māhaḷige, Koṇḍarade, Kabhunāḷige, the Four bāḍa and Mogala-nāḍ in peace and wisdom;—Hoysaḷa having raised a great army against Māhaḷige,— the great hero Hākara, overthrowing the army of elephants, horses, chariots and foot-soldiers, putting the force to flight, gained the world of the gods”<sup>3</sup>. But it seems certain that this war was concluded before A. D. 1145. Mallikārjuna was probably restored to his dominions by the imperial general. A Kadamba inscription of 1145 describes him as ruling his kingdom under the Chalukya emperor Pēma-Jagadēkamalla II<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Old Canarese and Sanscrit Inscriptions relating to the Chieftains of the Sindavamsa*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, pp. 241-245.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VI, Cn, 96.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VIII, Sa, 58.

<sup>4</sup> *Carn. Deso Inscriptions*, I, p. 772, referred to by Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 562.

## CHAPTER XII

### Tailama

**M**allikārjuna did not long survive Vishṇuwardhana, his adversary. He followed him to the grave in or about A.D. 1146 and was succeeded by Tailama, who probably was his brother<sup>1</sup>. The latter, seems to have ruled for a short period of five years, and his reign was on the whole uneventful. The warlike spirit of the Hoysaḷas evidently suffered a check for want of capable military leaders. Narasiṃha, the son and successor of Vishṇuwardhana, was a mere child of eight years<sup>2</sup>, at the death of his father, and throughout his life he remained a weak ruler.

It was probably in the reign of Tailama that Goravarasa, who appears to have been the son of Boppa<sup>3</sup>, freed himself of the control of the Kadambas of Hāṅgal and asserted his independence. Boppa was a member of the branch of the Kadamba family which was in charge of the Nāgarkhaṇḍa Seventy in the time of Taila<sup>4</sup>. By this time the wars of Vishṇuwardhana had considerably weakened the power of the King of Hāṅgal; and this weakness of the central government was possibly taken advantage of by the governor of the Nāgarkhaṇḍa Seventy Goravarasa, to establish his own independence. A record assigned to about A.D. 1145 confers on him all the titles that usually accompany the Kadamba kings. The inscription also tells us that after hearing a discourse on *dharma* and

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 562. The inscription does not seem to have been published.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., V, B1, 93. Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 101.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 67. He calls himself Bangara-Bappa's warrior.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Sb, 325, 328. He was probably a brother of Taila, who is mentioned in an inscription at Lakshmesvar under the name of Bikkī. E. I., XVI, p. 4.

washing the feet of the 32,000 Brahmans, he remitted certain dues or taxes, for the repose of the soul of his senior queen Śāntale-dēvi, who had died a few days before<sup>1</sup>. Another record of Goravarasa refers to a war waged by him<sup>2</sup>.

Goravarasa seems to have ruled for a period of over five years, when it seems likely he was defeated or more probably slain by Kīrtti-dēva, the son of Tailama, who, as we shall presently see, was a more successful monarch than his father.

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<sup>1</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 67.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Sb, 46.

## CHAPTER XIII

### Kirtti-deva

**K**irtti-dēva, the eldest son of Tailama, ascended the throne in or about A. D. 1151<sup>1</sup>. He remained as the feudatory of the Chalukyas for the first five years of his reign, after which he seems to have acknowledged the Kaḷachurya Bijjala as his liege-lord.

This period witnessed the steady decline of the western Chalukya supremacy. Bijjala of the Kaḷachurya family, who discharged for a time the dual functions of general and minister of the Chalukyas, misused the enormous power he had acquired by virtue of these offices to the destruction of the sovereignty of the latter<sup>2</sup>. We learn from one of the inscriptions that consequent on the overthrow of the Chalukya power, Taila III, who was then the Chalukya Emperor, was forced to beat a precipitate retreat southwards to take refuge at Banavasi<sup>3</sup>. This event transpired in 1156.

The province of Banavasi was at this time in the possession of the Kadamba King Mauli-Tailapa, who was, according to the Lakshmīśvar record, the grandson of Taila II<sup>4</sup>, and probably a brother of Kirtti-dēva. It may be inferred from this inscription that Vīra-Pāṇḍya of Uchchangi was a feudatory of the Kadambas and that he was in charge of the Puligere country.

What befell the Chalukya Emperor in the South is not recorded in the epigraphical records. But it is at all events evident that the Kadambas were made to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Kaḷachuryas only after a good deal of pressure was brought to bear upon them. In fact one of the inscriptions of Bijjala seems

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 179.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 465.

<sup>3</sup> *Carn. Desa Inscriptions*, II, p. 16, referred to by Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 467.

<sup>4</sup> E. I., XVI, p. 44.

the Chalukya Chatta in his attempt to overhaul the Rāshtrakūṭa monarchy. They were however not disheartened at the failure of the movement, but gave their whole-hearted support to the new leader. This is obvious from the fact that as soon as Taila re-established the Chalukya power, he restored the Kadamba Iṣivabēdaṅga-dēva to his hereditary kingdom of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand. We are led to the latter conclusion by the fact that Chatta, the son of Iṣivabēdaṅga-dēva, is reported in an inscription to have been ruling the Banavasi Twelve Thousand in A. D. 986, which would imply that his father was in possession of the same territory before this date and presumably from the time of the overthrow of the Rāshtrakūṭa power. In fact an inscription of Chatta dated 1028, referring to his father, addresses the latter as King Iṣivabēdaṅga-dēva<sup>1</sup>. Thus it was that King Iṣivabēdaṅga became the founder of the Hāṅga Kadambas.

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<sup>1</sup> *E. I.*, XV, p. 333.

## CHAPTER II

### Chatta-deva

**I**rivabēḍaṅga-dēva was succeeded by his son Chatta. The latter is variously known in the inscriptions as Chatta,<sup>1</sup> Chattu<sup>2</sup>, Chattuga<sup>3</sup>, Kundama<sup>4</sup>, Kundarāja<sup>5</sup> and Kaṭakadagōva<sup>6</sup>.

The earliest epigraphical record that mentions his name is placed in A. D. 980 in the reign of the Western Chalukya King Ahavamalla or Taila II. He is here given all the important titles borne by the Kadambas of the Hāṅgal branch. The inscription calls him "the boon lord of (Banavasipura) and obtainer of a boon from Chāmuṇḍa." It also mentions that he was entitled to the five big drums and that he was ruling the Banavasi Twelve Thousand in peace and wisdom<sup>7</sup>. The second record which is dated 986 A. D. tells us that the chief under him of Nagarkhaṇḍa Seventy was one Bōdayya, the son of Ayyaṇa<sup>8</sup>.

It would appear from the inscriptions that the safety of the newly founded Chalukya Empire was at this time seriously endangered by the Chōḷa encroachments on its southern frontiers. We are informed in the Hoṭṭūr inscription that the Chōḷa king, having collected a force numbering nine hundred thousand, pillaged the whole country, slaughtered even women, children and Brahmans, and

<sup>1</sup> *E. I.*, XVI, p. 359.

<sup>2</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 413.

<sup>3</sup> *E. I.*, XVI, p. 359.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, *Sanscritt and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., V, p. 18.

<sup>5</sup> *E. I.*, XV, p. 333.

<sup>6</sup> Fleet, I. c.

<sup>7</sup> *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 184.

<sup>8</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 413.

to allude to an expedition undertaken by him with the object of conquering the Kadambas, when it records that he took possession of "the jewelled earrings, the rutting elephants and all possessions of the lord of the Vanavasi country, who bowed down in fear"<sup>1</sup>. That hostilities broke out at this period is also evidenced from the two viragals which are dated respectively in A. D. 1559 and 1162. The first of these viragals says: "... Hiriya-Nāyaka's brother-in-law Chikka-kēta, (obedient to) the mind's order of... Billaya, the senior general of the Banavase-nād, appointed by the Kāḍ(amba) King, the mahā-maṇḍalēśvara Kumāra-kīrtti-dēva — when the whole of Bijjaṇa-Dēva's officers, the Chauṭi Kings, and an army under twelve chieftains came and laid siege to the Gutti fort, and the town was ruined,... the archers were following, and the spearmen were beaten,—chopping in pieces and slaying many, Kētaṇa gained the world of gods"<sup>2</sup>. The second viragal records: "When the mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kīrtti-Dēva's great minister, Kumāra maṇḍalika Bammarasa was ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom, Bijjaṇa-Dēva's minister Sōyavamarasa ... was fighting, saying, 'I will besiege Gutti',—Pulleya Nāyaka.... slew many and gained the world of gods"<sup>3</sup>.

Nevertheless it is obvious that the Kadambas acknowledged the overlordship of the Kaḷachuryas about the year 1163. For a Kadamba viragal of this year, as it refers itself to the reign of Bijjala, clearly implies that the Kaḷachuryas had by this time reduced the Kadambas to submission<sup>4</sup>.

This was perhaps partly accelerated by the invasion of the Kadamba kingdom by the Sāntara King Jaga-dēva. The latter seems to have taken advantage of the weakness of the Kadambas, caused no doubt by their protracted struggle with the Hoysaḷas, and encroached on their territories. This is evidenced by an inscription of Jaga-dēva dated 1160 which says that he was ruling over the Banavasi Twelve Thousand, besides his hereditary province of the Sāntaḷige Thousand<sup>5</sup>. Now it is definitely known that the former province was always in the possession of the Kadambas. Accordingly the fact that Jaga-dēva is said to be ruling

<sup>1</sup> E. I., V, p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 418.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Sb, 568.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Sb, 177. The same stone at the Kapli Bhavi, Hangal, on which is inscribed the record of Tailapa-deva, also contains an inscription of Kasapayya Nayaka and Enka Nayaka, the custom officials of Bijjala. Appendix, III, No. 10.

<sup>5</sup> E. C., VIII, Sa, 28.

it in 1162, shows that he had conquered at least a part of it about this period.

Kīrtti-dēva however soon succeeded in repulsing the Śāntaras. We are told in an inscription of 1163 that he marched with the mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras Ekkalarasa and Bammaṇṇa, against the mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Jaga-dēvarasa<sup>1</sup>. They seem to have met with conspicuous success, as Jaga-dēva was forced to leave the Kadamba country and rush to the defence of his own capital. Kīrtti-dēva conquered almost half of the Śāntaḷige Thousand, and in 1165 laid siege to Andāsura, a fort of the Śāntaras very close to Hom-bucha, their capital. This siege is referred to both in the Kadamba and in the Śāntara records<sup>2</sup>.

In his fight with the Śāntaras Kīrtti-dēva was probably helped by his overlord Bijjala. In fact a Śāntara record which refers to the same siege, explicitly states that Andāsura was besieged by express orders of Bijjala. It may be that Jaga-dēva, intoxicated by his early successes against the Kadambas, refused to acknowledge the Kaḷachurya supremacy; whereupon Bijjala dispatched his feudatories, mentioned in the record, and reduced him to submission. That Jaga-dēva eventually became a feudatory of the Kaḷachuryas is shown by a later Śāntara record which describes him as, 'a dweller at the lotus feet' of the Kaḷachurya Emperor Sōvidēva<sup>3</sup>.

The expeditions of Kīrtti-dēva against the Hoysaḷas were crowned with equal success. During this memorable reign the Kadambas would appear to have recovered the whole of the territory wrested from them by the Hoysaḷa kings. We are told in a document of a later period that Kīrtti-dēva chased away his enemies<sup>4</sup>; from which we may conclude that during the weak rule of the Hoysaḷa King Narasiṃha, Kīrtti-dēva gradually forced the Hoysaḷas to withdraw from the territory they had annexed under Viṣṇuvardhana. This was probably effected by re-capturing the Kadamba strongholds held by the enemy. This view is confirmed by a viragal of 1161 which represents maṇḍalika Bammaṇṇa as investing the Gīnnalaguṇḍi fort<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Sb, 177.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Sb, 567; Sa, 114.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Sa, 66.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Sb, 179.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., Sb, 306.

It may be ascertained from an inscription of the year 1173, that one of the generals of Kirtti-dēva, named Gorava Kittiga, rose in insurrection against his royal master, and set himself up as an independent chief. Kirtti-dēva had promoted him to the rank of a *Sāmanta* and invested him with the *manneya* or seigniorship of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand and the command over five hundred soldiers. The record tells us that he abused the privileges which had been conferred upon him. He is said to have erected his camp at Andabaḷigatta-durgga, without acquainting his master with the scheme and getting his consent thereto, and succeeded in eliciting homage from the neighbouring gaḍas. The latter, so runs the record, "joining hands and placing his palasquin on their shoulders, gave him the umbrella". Then he received in audience the servants, and expressed his desire that they should be loyal to him, saying "whatever happens, I shall always have need of you". These servants were possibly the five hundred soldiers who had been given to him by the Kadamba Kirtti-dēva. They however remained loyal to the latter, and after gaining the confidence of the rebellious governor, put him to death. The record makes it obvious that as soon as the news of the insurrection reached the King, the latter dispatched Dāsappa, the son of his faithful daṇḍanāyaka Bhillā-Bhamma, against the rebel<sup>1</sup>. It is possible that Kittiga was reduced to bitter straits by this general, whereupon the army which had joined hands with Kittiga at the preliminary stages of the revolt, turned against him, and in order to save their own skin, slew him and surrendered the Andabaḷigatta fort to Dāsappa.

We learn from the last two inscriptions of Kirtti-dēva that he was the feudatory of the Kaḷachurya King Rāya Murāri-Sōvi-dēva in 1170 A. D.<sup>2</sup>, and of Sankama in 1178<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Sa, 71.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 171.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 431.

## CHAPTER XIV

### Banavasi under the Kalachuryas

**T**O obtain a clear glimpse of the political situation of the Dekkan during the period of the Kalachurya supremacy, we have to get into touch with the activities of the various Kalachurya governors that were successively appointed to rule over the Banavasi-nāḍ.

We have already noticed that in about A. D. 1156 the Chalukya King Taila III was dethroned by Bijjala, who himself assumed the imperial power. He appointed one Māyidēvarasa as the governor of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand for the collection of the regalia, such as the *hejjunka* and the *vāḍḍa-rāuḷa*<sup>1</sup>. But as has already been shown, the authority of the Kalachuryas was not acknowledged by the Kadambas till A. D. 1163.

The next notable figure in the galaxy of the Kalachurya governors was Kēśimayya. He is first mentioned in the records of about 1160<sup>2</sup>. In 1168 he is spoken of as touring through the Tadda-vāḍi Thousand, the Hāṅgal Five Hundred, and the Banavasi Twelve Thousand, and on that occasion he made a grant to a temple at Beḷagāmi<sup>3</sup>. This was on the whole a period of respite for all the contending parties, and consequently peace flourished in the Dekkan down to 1179.

In that year however the Hoysaḷas under their valiant King Ballāḷa II commenced their inroads in the north, bent on re-conquering all the territories which once formed part of their Empire. In 1177 Uchchangī was reduced and the Pāṇḍya King Kāma-dēva brought to submission<sup>4</sup>. This defeat of the Pāṇḍyas brought them

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 190.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Sk, 146.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Sk, 92.

<sup>4</sup> E. C., XII, Ck, 36.

close to the imperial Kaḷachuryas and stimulated them to contest with the latter the supremacy over the Dekkan. Accordingly to meet the Hoysaḷas in battle, Sankama-dēva, the Kaḷachurya Emperor, deputed his veteran general Kavaṇayya to the south in about 1179. The Kaḷachurya inscription speaking about this general says that having made a victorious expedition to the south, he came and pitched his camp in Bettaur (?) in the Banavasi country<sup>1</sup>. Here he was probably met by the Hoysaḷa King Ballāla II, and the war dragged on for some time, but no decisive victory was won by either of the parties for a period of two years. In 1181 they appear to have concluded a treaty by which they agreed to suspend operations. This treaty was perhaps brought about through the mediation of Kēṣimayya, who seems to have been re-appointed this year the governor of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand. For the inscription clearly states that Āhava Malla, the Kaḷachurya King who succeeded Sankama, sent for Kēṣimayya and appointed him to govern the south so that "the country may have quiet"<sup>2</sup>. That the Hoysaḷas and the Kaḷachuryas arrived at a settlement we conclude from the statement in the same record that the Hoysaḷa officers were present when this grant was made.

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<sup>1</sup> E. C., XI, Dg, 44.

<sup>2</sup> Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 117.

## CHAPTER XV

### Kama-deva

In the midst of this struggle Kīrtti-dēva died and was succeeded by his son Kāma-dēva. It is highly probable that in the war with the Hoysaḷas, the Kadambas joined their overlords the Kaḷachuryas. A viragal of 1181 records: "The pratāpa-chakravartti Hoysaṇa bhujabala vīra-Ballāḷa-Rāya's great minister Toya-Singeya-dannāyaka, when Basavaiya-Nāyaka of Hānungal was inside the guard-house in the Uḍare fort, — on the mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Banka-Nāyaka's son-in-law Gangeya-Sāhaṇi, Beyama-Sāhaṇi and Javaneya-Nāyaka, these three coming with all appliances and laying siege,—he fought, slew, distinguished himself and gained the world of gods"<sup>1</sup>. Very likely the Hoysaḷas had captured this fort of Uḍhare some time before, and it was retaken by the Kadamba generals mentioned above<sup>2</sup>.

The peace concluded between the Hoysaḷas and the Kaḷachuryas in 1181 was only a truce, and the two contending armies soon met at Hadaḍeyakuppa. Vīra-Ballāḷa was himself at the head of the Hoysaḷa host while the Kaḷachurya forces were under the command of their King Murāri-Kēśava-Nārasīṅga, and of the great general Gandapāṇḍava Channa-Kāḷama Sāhaṇi. The similarity of the name and the title suggests that he was the same Kāvapaṇḍya who had led the victorious expedition to the south in 1179<sup>3</sup>. Vīra-Ballāḷa ordered the van of his army to attack the enemy. The fight that ensued must have been very desperate, each party making frantic efforts to win the day<sup>4</sup>. At last the battle was decided

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 212.

<sup>2</sup> We conclude that these were Kadamba generals, for we have a Sahani who was the commander-in-chief of the Kadamba army which fought against Vīra-Ballāḷa.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. ante, p. 142.

<sup>4</sup> M. A. R., 1917, p. 45.

in favour of the invincible Hoysaḷas, and the Kaḷachurya power was completely crushed.

This defeat of the Kaḷachuryas obviously helped the Chalukya Somēśvara IV in his attempts to restore his family to independence. The Kaḷachuryas had become very unpopular on account of their persecution of the newly founded Lingayat sect<sup>1</sup>. Moreover Bijjala's successors had not the capacity which he himself possessed. This probably gave the opportunity to the Chalukya partisans to come forward and publicly espouse their cause. We are told in a Hoysaḷa record that the Kaḷachurya daṇḍanāyaka Bamma joined the Chalukyas and succeeded in seducing a considerable part of the Kaḷachurya forces which were under the command of his own father<sup>2</sup>. The latter was the loyal general of the Kaḷachuryas, Kāvaṇa<sup>3</sup>, who had commanded their troops on two previous occasions. The same Hoysaḷa record also tells us that Bamma acted in contempt of his father<sup>4</sup>. This information is borne out by a Chalukya inscription which admits that Bamma secured for Somēśvara the position of Emperor<sup>5</sup>.

The Kabambas of Hāṅgal, always loyal to the Western Chalukya family, were only too glad to transfer their allegiance to Somēśvara IV<sup>6</sup>. An inscription of Kāma-dēva dated 1189 refers to Somēśvara as his overlord<sup>7</sup>. But the latter did not long exercise his suzerainty. New enemies, the Yādavas in the north and the Hoysaḷas in the south<sup>8</sup>, completely absorbed the whole of the Chalukya Empire, and the little suzerain power that was left to the Emperor was the one he retained over the hereditary territory of his powerful feudatories, the Kadambas of the Hāṅgal branch. It is unlikely that he survived for a long time the dissolution of the Empire, and with him the dynasty of the Western Chalukyas of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wurth, *The Basava-Purana of the Lingayats*, J. B. B. R. A. S., IX, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> *I. A.*, II, p. 299.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet, *P. S. & O. C. Inscriptions*, No. 122.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Carn. Desa Inscriptions*, p. 37, referred to by Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 464.

<sup>6</sup> A viragal found at the Kapli Bhavi, Hāṅgal, dated in the 2nd year of Somesvara (1181), shows that the latter had deputed Soyya to elicit homage from Kama-deva. Appendix, III, No. 13.

<sup>7</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Sk. 179.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 503; *I. A.*, II, p. 299.

Kalyāṇi, at least as far as history is concerned, came to an end. This is shown by an inscription of Kāma-dēva of about 1191 A. D. where he is for the first time called the Kadamba Chakravartī<sup>1</sup>. The Kadamba record of 1198 assumes the style of the imperial Chalukyas by beginning the grant with the words: "When Kadamba Kāma-dēva was ruling the kingdom of the world"<sup>2</sup>. This would also suggest that after the death of Somēśvara, Kāma-dēva reigned as an independent King, pending the issue of the contest for supremacy between the Yādavas and the Hoysaḷas. It was presumably during this period that Kāma-dēva strengthened the fortifications of Hāṅgal, in order to render them proof against any possible attack of his enemies from the south. To the same period should also be ascribed the mutilation of the Hoysaḷa crest twice perpetrated in the Tarakēśvara temple at Hāṅgal, a splendid monument in the Hoysaḷa style undoubtedly built during the Hoysaḷa occupation of this city<sup>3</sup>.

The contest for supremacy was at last decided in favour of the Hoysaḷas. The decisive victory of the latter over the Yādava King Billama in the battle of Lukkundi seems to have determined, at least temporarily, that the Hoysaḷas should be supreme in the southern provinces of the Dekkan. Thereafter Vīra-Ballāḷa turned to subdue the Kadambas of Hāṅgal, the hereditary enemies of his family.

A viragal of about 1195 refers to the battle of Udhare in the reign of the Kadamba Chakravartī Kāma-dēva, which we believe was fought between the Kadambas and the Hoysaḷas<sup>4</sup>. Udhare was apparently a fort of great strategical importance, which the Hoysaḷas always attacked whenever they invaded the Kadamba territory. It probably commanded the road to Hāṅgal; for Vīra-

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 439.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Sb, 478.

<sup>3</sup> When we visited Hāṅgal in January, 1929, we noticed this mutilation. The sculpture in front of the vimāna of the above temple has the head of Sala purposely chopped off. Another specimen of the same crest now over the entrance of the temple compound is so skillfully destroyed that the image of Sala could not be traced at all but for the sword carved on the mane of the tiger (?). Thus what once was the Hoysaḷa crest appears now as the dynastic symbol of the Kadambas.

<sup>4</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 439. This date seems to be more correct.

Ballāḷa is next seen besieging the Hāṅgal fort<sup>1</sup>, perhaps after reducing Udhare. The viragals of A. D. 1196 at the Tarakēśvara temple at Hāṅgal state that the Hoysaḷa monarch Vīra-Ballāḷa III came and pitched his camp at Keregēri<sup>2</sup> and besieged the city. He was defeated and repulsed by Kāma-dēva's forces, under his general Sāhaṇi, who however was killed in the battle<sup>3</sup>. It also appears that Kāma-dēva drove the Hoysaḷas from the Udhare fort, as in 1203 they returned again and laid siege to the citadel<sup>4</sup>. But it is unlikely that they succeeded on this occasion. The inscriptions of this period (1203) in the Kōḍ taluqua, which represent Kāma-dēva as still fighting the Hoysaḷas<sup>5</sup>, pointedly indicate that he was then forcing the latter to evacuate the Kadamba territory and had driven them as far as Sātēnhaḷḷi in the Kōḍ taluqua<sup>6</sup>. It is evident from the viragals of 1207, 1208 and 1211 that by this time he had completely liberated the Hāṅgal Five Hundred and a considerable part of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand from the Hoysaḷa molestations, and was himself laying waste the territory of the latter. The first two viragals might be taken to shew that before 1208 he had recovered all the territory as far south as Hāyava and Muvāḍi-biḍu in the Tavanandi hōbli, Sorab taluqua, in what is now known as the Mysore State.<sup>7</sup> By 1211 the whole of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand came into his possession and he penetrated still more southwards into the present Kadūr taluqua and occupied Bīraūr (Birūr). A viragal of 1211 records: "When the Kadamba-chakrēśvara Kāva-Dēva was ruling the Banavase Twelve Thousand kingdom in peace and wisdom, ... Ballāḷa-Dēva's raiders besieged Bīraūr in Kabbunālige-naḍu-nāḍ, and fought, Kancha Gavuḍa and others, ... attacking them at the moment, slew and gained the world of gods."<sup>8</sup> How was it possible

<sup>1</sup> Appendix, No. III, 14, 15.

<sup>2</sup> Camp near the tank on the west side of Hangal.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix, No. III, 16; *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, XXII, *Dharwar*, p. 724; Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 563. Dr. Fleet wrongly reads Keregēri as Anekere.

<sup>4</sup> *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 244.

<sup>5</sup> *Carn. Desa Inscriptions*, II, pp. 309, 322, 323, referred to by Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 563.

<sup>6</sup> In the face of this unimpeachable epigraphical evidence, Dr. Fleet's statement that the Kadambas were soon after 1196 A. D. completely subjugated by Vīra-Ballāḷa, who annexed their territory, seems to have no foundation whatsoever.

<sup>7</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 171, 307.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Sb, 59.

for Kāma-dēva to prevail so successfully against this powerful Hoysaḷa King? The obvious reason for this seems to be that Vīra-Ballāḷa being at this time preoccupied with wars against the Yādavas in the north, Kāma-dēva took advantage of his absence and occupied the Hoysaḷa territory. It is also possible that the Hoysaḷa power had suffered considerable damage at this period, for the constant struggle with the Yādavas had obviously a deleterious effect upon them, which satisfactorily explains how Kāma-dēva could occupy an important citadel in the very heart of the Hoysaḷa Empire. Moreover Vīra-Ballāḷa was now much advanced in age and had lost the juvenile vigour that had always attended his early expeditions. It is no wonder therefore if before long Kāma-dēva completely retrieved the losses he might have sustained at the beginning of his rule.

The reign of Kāma-dēva was thus a crescendo of successes. It may be safely affirmed that in him the great Hoysaḷa King Vīra-Ballāḷa met his equal. It is true indeed that Kāma-dēva failed at the beginning to stem the tide of Hoysaḷa aggression. But unlike his predecessors, he did not allow them to occupy for a moment the royal city of Hāṅgaḷ. He baulked them in their attempt to besiege the city and drove them as far as the southern frontier of Hāṅgaḷ. Then he forced them to evacuate the whole of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand, which they had probably held since their decisive victory over the Kaḷachuryas in 1188. Furthermore he retaliated by leading predatory expeditions into the Hoysaḷa kingdom and by conquering and annexing their territory till Bīraūr (Bīrūr). After this he sent his conquering armies in all directions to impose his suzerainty on the neighbouring kings. An inscription of 1199 tells us that he subjugated the Male and the Tuḷu countries, the Konkaṇ and the Western Ghats<sup>1</sup>. These were the territories ruled respectively by the Śāntaras, the Ālupas and the Goa Kadambas, and the inscriptions of these rulers clearly show that they did acknowledge the overlordship of Kāma-dēva<sup>2</sup>.

Kāma-dēva's victorious reign extended over a long period of forty years. Having come to the throne in 1180,<sup>3</sup> his reign may be

<sup>1</sup> *Carn. Desu Inscriptions*, II, p. 605, referred to by Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 563.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix, No. III, 5; *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 188.

<sup>3</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 448. This inscription is dated 1193, which was his 13th regnal year.

regarded as a continuous struggle of half a century for the maintenance of the Kadamba independence against the Hoysala aggressors. He died in 1217<sup>1</sup> having fully realised his plans and established on a stable footing the power of the Kadambas, which lasted for another hundred years. The impression he left on the minds of his subjects is inferred from one of the viragals above referred to, which gives the following glowing description of his attributes: "He who was a jewel in the ocean of the family of Mayūravarmma, he who was a desire yielding gem to (good) men, he who was eminent for his enterprises, he who was the very pleasing vasanta, he who offers gifts (alms) to mendicants, he who was the sun to the lotus of the family of the Kadambas, he who was terrific in battles, he who was Bhīma in respect of the power of his arms, he who was Vainatēya (the king of birds) to the serpents of the intoxicated tributaries, he who was speaking the truth only, he who was the adamantine rampart to those who seek his shelter"<sup>2</sup>.

The inscriptions give Kētala-dēvi<sup>3</sup> or Kālala-dēvi<sup>4</sup> as the name of his consort.

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 180. A. D. 1224 is given as the 6th year of the reign of Malli-deva, who succeeded Kama-deva. Cf. *Carn. Desa Inscriptions*, II, pp. 600, 601, 603, 604, referred to by Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 594.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix, No. III, 15.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet, o. c., p. 563.

<sup>4</sup> E. C., VIII, Sk, 179.

## CHAPTER XVI

### Malli-deva

**M**alli-dēva was probably the son of Kāma-dēva. He ascended the throne in 1217, and maintained for the most part his position as an independent King. His reign was on the whole undisturbed by wars. His contemporaries on the Hoysala throne were Narasimha II, and after him Vira-Sōmēśvara, both of whom were, if not weak, at least not so warlike as their illustrious predecessors Vishṇuvardhana and Vira-Ballāla II. It is also possible that the people had become tired of war which had been incessantly waged for well nigh a century.

One of the immediate results of this protracted warfare was that brigandage and lawlessness grew in the country almost unchecked. We need scarcely say that the hostile armies marching about the kingdom laid waste the fields and severely crippled the agricultural industry. The people who were thereby thrown out of employment naturally took to the familiar resources of rapine and plunder.

This was the state of affairs obtaining in the kingdom when Malli-dēvarasa succeeded to the throne of Hāṅgal, and evidently it took some time for this monarch to restore normal order in the kingdom. Inscriptions are abounding in the country which recount the outrages committed by the brigands, their victims often including the Government officials. "When the Idugōḍ-heggaḍe Mādeya's son Binavaṇa", says one of the viragals of 1219, "was in Geṇḍavaṇa, going from Kuppāṭūr, like a thunderbolt a band of robbers fell upon him in the Aḷeya-haḷḷa, and those who were with him fled, on which Binavaṇa being greatly enraged attacked them like Antaka. But the robbers though attacked, were enraged and did not go, but stood and rushed upon him, while he, amid celestial songs of victory, like a Garuḍa (or kite) which sees the

Nāgas (or serpents), slew them. Fighting till Java (or Yama) was filled, he was borne away in Basavaḷi in a car to Indra's city by the celestial nymphs"<sup>1</sup>. Another viragal dated 1220 records that Beḷuvage Marā-Gavuḍa's son Rāma-gauḍa being attacked by robbers, fought with them and gained the world of gods<sup>2</sup>. But after a few years of peaceful rule under Malli-dēva, the people assured of protection from external enemies, soon returned to their usual occupations and brigandage gradually stopped. This is attested by an early inscription of this monarch which emphasises that "the Kādamba-chakravartti Malli-Dēvarasa was ruling a peaceful kingdom"<sup>3</sup>.

During the reign of Malli-dēva there arose a new dynasty in Tuḷuva that threatened to deprive the Kadambas of this newly conquered province. Tuḷuva, it will be remembered, was the hereditary province of the Ālupa kings, who had been brought to submission by Kāma-dēva, the King of the Kadambas, and had become their feudatories. An inscription of this period dwelling on the activities of this new dynasty observes:—

"When, with all titles, the Kādamba-chakravartti Malli-Dēvarasa was ruling a peaceful kingdom:— . . . when Sāreya-Bhairava-Nāyaka, was greatly slaying(?) the Āḷvas in battle, the Āḷuva Saṅkaya-Nāyaka slew the whole of Bīreya-Dēva's force. So that both armies applauded, he fought in the plain of Birusa, and in Basavaḷi was united to the celestial nymphs, who bore him away in a celestial car"<sup>4</sup>.

It may be inferred from this record that Sāreya-Bhairava-Nāyaka who was evidently the head of the new dynasty, attempted at this time to overthrow the Āḷuva family, the constituted authority in the province, and carve for himself an independent kingdom. From the name Bhairava we may conclude that this Sāreya-Bhairava was one of the Śāntara chieftains of Kārkaḷa. Possibly this was the old family of the Śāntaras, who finding it impossible to retain their power in the struggle for supremacy that was being carried on for a century round their original home migrated westwards and attempted to wrest the power from the Āḷuva rulers.

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 224.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Sb, 227.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Sb, 188.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 188.

We have said above, that the immediate successors of the Hoysaṣa King Vira-Ballāṣa were not as successful as their illustrious predecessor. The Yādavas, on the other hand, flourished at this time under the rule of a capable monarch who increased their power to a very large extent. This King was Siṅghaṇa, the son of Jaitugi I. He had already made the Hoysaṣas taste the bitter fruits of defeat in the reign of Vira-Ballāṣa. The Gadag inscription of 1213<sup>1</sup> and the Paithan grant<sup>2</sup>, which speaks of him as overthrowing Ballāṣa, make it abundantly clear that Siṅghaṇa succeeded in recovering from Vira-Ballāṣa all the territory that lay south of the Malaprabhā and the Kṛishṇa. His efforts were crowned with still greater success in the following two years. His record of 1215 at Belāgrāma shews that he had conquered all the territories occupied by the Hoysaṣas in the neighbourhood of that city<sup>3</sup>. We are also told that this year he appointed the mahāpradhāna, sarvādhikāri and mahāparamaviśvāsi (most confidential agent) Māyī-dēvapaṇḍita, as the governor of Banavasi, and under him a certain Hemmēyanāyaka as *suṅkādhikāri* or tax-collector of the Banavasi province<sup>4</sup>. Some years later in 1226 Hemmēyanāyaka was promoted to the governorship of the Halasige Twelve Thousand<sup>5</sup>.

Though the Yādavas had appointed their governor for collecting the imperial dues from the Kadamba kingdom, it is not likely that the Kadambas acknowledged the supremacy of the Yādavas at this period. As a matter of fact the Kadamba inscriptions of this period do not at all refer to any king as the overlord of Malli-dēva. On the contrary all these records invariably style him 'the Kadamba Chakravartti', and one of them even mentions his political satellites, the Āḷupas.

But it was not possible for the Kadambas to resist for a long time the attempts of the powerful Yādavas at establishing their hegemony over the Dekkan. They submitted to them some time about A. D. 1239; for a record of this year for the first time describes Malli-dēva as a mahāmaṇḍalēśvara. Dr. Fleet who refers to this inscription does not specify whose feudatory he was<sup>6</sup>. Never-

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 524.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., XIV, p. 314.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 523.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Ibid., p. 524.

theless it is plain that he became the subordinate of the Yādava King Siṃhaṇa, who probably subdued him by force of arms. Indeed a viragal of 1239 seems to allude to a Yādava-Kadamba war, when it records that Siṃhaṇa-dēva's (Siṃhaṇa's) nāyakas came with 30,000 horse and captured the hill fortress of Gutti, burnt the nād, "and marched along with their booty openly displayed". In another inscription of the preceding year 1238, inside the Kadambēśvara temple at Ratihaḷḷi, Siṃhana is being called '*Kadambari*', viz. 'the enemy of the Kadambas'. Such inscription evidently supposes the conquest of Ratihaḷḷi—a fortified town in the heart of the Kadamba country—by the Yādava King. The Yādavas probably commenced their attacks on the Kadambas in 1231, for we learn from a viragal of this year that the nāyakas of Siṃhaṇa-dēva's house, Siṃha-Nāyaka and Aṅkadēva-Nāyaka, raided Siḍani in Eḍenāḍ, which formed part of the Kadamba dominions, and carried away prisoners and live stock<sup>1</sup>. It appears from this that the fall of the important fortress of Gutti in 1239 marked the final submission of Malli-dēva to the Yādavas, for if we are to believe an inscription of Kīrtti-deva dated 1176, Gutti was one of the *rājadhānis* of the Kadambas, as the record avers that he was ruling at Chandragutti as his capital<sup>2</sup>.

Malli-dēva also came into hostile contact with the Hoysaḷas. A memorial tablet of the year 1143 observes that having raised a great army the Hoysaḷa King invaded Māhaḷige, i. e. Maḷali in the Sagar taluqua, and that the great hero Hākara, who was probably in charge of that division of the Kadamba kingdom, proceeded against the enemy, and "overthrowing the army of elephants, horses, chariots and foot-soldiers, putting the force to flight, gained the world of gods"<sup>3</sup>. The Hoysaḷa King mentioned here was Sōmēśvara. It is possible to conclude in the light of the subsequent history of the period that the Kadambas sustained a severe defeat on this occasion which resulted in the loss of some of their territories. These territories, as we shall see presently, were restored to the Kadambas by the Yādava general Tikkamma, in the reign of Malli-dēva's son Kāva-dēva.

Malli-dēva lived for a few years more. Dr. Fleet mentions two inscriptions of this sovereign dated respectively in A. D. 1241 and 1252,<sup>4</sup> the latter of which probably marks his last date.

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VII, Sb, 319.    <sup>2</sup> Appendix, No. III, 20.    <sup>3</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 221.

<sup>4</sup> M. A. R., 1923, p. 121, No. 125.    <sup>5</sup> E. C., VIII, Sa, 58.

<sup>6</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 564.

## CHAPTER XVII

### Rama-devarasa

Rāma-dēvarasa seems to have been the successor of Malli-dēva. It is not expressly mentioned in the records whether he was a scion of the Kadamba family. This fact however becomes manifest when we examine his titles. He bears the specific *birudas* of the Kadamba kings such as 'the boon lord of Banavāsi-pura', and the 'Jayanti-Madhukēśvara', which do not leave a shadow of doubt as to his identity. He was probably a brother of Malli-dēva and succeeded him, as the latter's son was a minor. But he does not seem to have survived Malli-dēva very long. We may suppose that he died in or about A. D. 1260, whereupon his nephew Kāva-dēva ascended the throne of Hāngal. That the latter became King at a young age is obvious from the fact that he ruled for a very long period extending over half a century, as it will be seen in the next chapter.

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<sup>1</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 517; M. A. R., 1927, p. 124, No. 137.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### Kava-deva

**K**āva-dēva succeeded Rāma-dēvarasa as the King of the Hāṅgal and the Banavasi Provinces. He probably came to the throne in or about A. D. 1260. The epigraphical records do not afford any clue to determine the relationship between these rulers. But as we have suggested above Kāva-dēva was probably a nephew of Rāma-dēvarasa and son of Malli-dēva. It is clear from his inscriptions that Kāva-dēva was also related to the Chalukya family. Some of his records give him all the titles borne by the Chalukya Emperors, such as ಶ್ರೀಪೃಥ್ವಿನಲ್ಲಭ ಮಹಾರಾಜಾಧಿರಾಜ ಪರಮಭಟ್ಟಾರಕ ಸತ್ಯಾಶ್ರಯ ಕುಲಕೀಕ, ನಿಗಲಂಕಮಲ್ಲ (favourite of the world the great King, the supreme King, the most worshipful one, the glory of the family of Satyāśraya and Nigalaṅka-malla)<sup>1</sup>. We may infer from this that his mother was a Chalukya princess whose family appears to have been restored at this time to a part of their hereditary kingdom<sup>2</sup>.

Kāva-dēva, it is likely, joined the Yādava King in his war against the Hoysaḷas in 1276. We are told in the Hoysaḷa records that with the assistance of Iruṅguna and other powerful chiefs, Sāluva Tikkama, the general of the Yādavas, invaded the Hoysaḷa territory<sup>3</sup>. This information is fully borne out by the Yādava *śīlā-śāsanā* of 1277 at Harihara, which asserts that Tikkama Dēva Rāya in an expedition to the south captured the city of Dōrasamudra<sup>4</sup>. It is possible that one of these powerful chiefs who are said to have

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 302; Sa, 32.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Le Grand Jacob, *Observations on the three Copperplate Charters*, J. B. B. R. A. S., IV, p. 108.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., V, Bl, 164, 165.

<sup>4</sup> Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 47.

joined Tikkama in the Hoysaḷa record, was Kāva-dēva. In fact the above-mentioned Harihara inscription confirms our view when it calls the Yādava general "the establisher of the Kadamba king", and "disgracer of the Hoysaḷa king." This may be held to imply that Kāva-dēva rendered material assistance to Tikkama in his campaign against the Hoysaḷas, and was rewarded by the former with the restoration of the Kadamba territories, which they had lost in the previous reign. This seems to be the only tangible result of the expedition of Tikkama against the Hoysaḷas. He reached Dōrasamudra and sacked the city, but it is evident that he did not occupy it for long. The Harihara grant which is dated 1277 was issued on his return journey<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand the Hoysaḷa inscriptions claim a decisive victory on the 25th April 1276, for Narasiṃha III over the Yādava general Tikkama. They maintain that the latter was completely routed at Beḷavāḍi and driven beyond Dummi with great slaughter<sup>2</sup>. It is obvious from these conflicting statements that neither of the versions expresses the whole truth. Each tries to exaggerate the advantages gained by its party and suppresses the reverses. The Hoysaḷa epigraphs do not speak about the sack of their capital Dōrasamudra, and likewise the Yādava records are silent on the defeat of Tikkama at Beḷavāḍi. Nevertheless there seems to be some ground for believing that Tikkama did plunder the city of Dōrasamudra. For we know that the Hoysaḷa power had been considerably weakened by the division of their territories, since the death of Sōmēśvara III<sup>3</sup>. The defeat of Tikkama can also be easily accounted for. The Yādavas being invaders obviously lacked the patriotic vigour of the Hoysaḷas who were fighting against foreign aggression. Moreover Tikkama was fighting at a great distance from the base, while the Hoysaḷas were fighting in their own country. These and several other causes must have contributed to the success of the Hoysaḷas, in driving out the invader from their kingdom. But it is plain that in spite of this success they had to surrender to the Yādavas the territories they had conquered from the Kadambas<sup>4</sup>. These territories, as has already been noted, were restored to the Kadamba King Kāva-dēva. A viragal assigned to A. D. 1280 seems to hint at this fact, when it states that "the mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Vira-Kāva-dēvarasa was ruling a settled kingdom"<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 47.    <sup>2</sup> E. C., V, Bl, 164, 165.

<sup>3</sup> Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 105.

<sup>4</sup> Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 47.

<sup>5</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 190.

The same viragal informs us that under the orders of Kallaveggade, the great minister of Kāva-dēva, a certain "Jalla-Sāraya slew the opposing king and gained the world of gods"<sup>1</sup>. But it is not possible at this stage of our investigations to identify the king who opposed Kāva-dēva.

The next important event in the reign of Kāva-dēva was the renewal of the Hoysaḷa-Kadamba conflict by Vīra-Ballāḷa III, the successor of Narasiṃha III. This happened about the year 1300 after the defeat of the Yādavas by Alla-ud-din in 1294<sup>2</sup>. Vīra-Ballāḷa had by this time composed the differences existing between the two rival Hoysaḷa kingdoms and had united all the territories under his rule. After this he decided to avail himself of the weakness of the Yādavas and to make a bid for the suzerainty over the Dekkan. Accordingly in 1199 he set out on an expedition of conquest and subdued Hosaguṇḍa, "capturing Kōṭi-Nāyaka and carrying off his elephant"<sup>3</sup>. The following year (1300) he tried to force his overlordship on Kāva-dēva by claiming tribute from the latter's minister Gangeya-Sāhaṇi. On his refusal to pay, he overran the Banavasi Twelve Thousand, and while marching on Hāṅgaḷ he encamped at Sirsi and was plundering Kaḍabaḷaḷa. It may be inferred from the viragal that in order to oppose the aggressive activities of the Hoysaḷas the Kadamba Chakravartti Kāva-dēva concluded a defensive alliance with the Chalukya King, probably Vētugi-dēva or his son Sōma-dēva, and the united forces marched to Sirsi to give battle to Ballāḷa. The same viragal records that Jagadaḷa Gangeya Sāhaṇi ordered Madi-gauḍa, who probably led the van, to charge the enemy. The latter pierced through the enemy's line of horse and "destroying them, broke Ballāḷa-dēva's army, and running, on reaching the kulugāra hiḷḷa, stabbing the men and horses, throwing them down and cutting them up, slew, distinguished himself and saying, 'Let Gangeya Sāhaṇi live, (the god) Rāmanāda of Baradavaḷḷi is my refuge,' gained the world of gods"<sup>4</sup>.

The record however does not specify the result of this battle. But the fact that Kāva-dēva issued grants in the Banavasi Twelve Thousand after this fight till 1312<sup>5</sup>, proves that Vīra-Ballāḷa's

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Ferishta-Briggs, I, p. 304-10.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VIII, Sa, 45.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. The latter record, which evidently refers to the same battle, nevertheless gives the date as 1303 A. D. This is not correct; the engraver probably mentioned by mistake the date of erecting the stone in memory of the hero for the actual date of the battle.

<sup>5</sup> E. C., VIII, Sa, 32; Sb, 59.

attempt to subdue the Kadambas was utterly frustrated by the united efforts of the Kadamba and the Chalukya kings. The battle of Sirsi may therefore be regarded as having dealt a death-blow to Vīra-Ballāḷa's dreams of reviving the ancient glories of the Hoysaḷa Empire.

Kāma-dēva, though he succeeded in maintaining his independence, nevertheless lost some of his possessions, in fact the whole of the southern portion of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand as a result of the Hoysaḷa encroachments. This we infer from the viragal of 1300, above referred to, which confers on Vīra-Ballāḷa all the titles that usually accompany the Hoysaḷa monarchs, and narrates some of his exploits, such as the defeat and the final restoration of the Pāṇḍya king. This proves that at the time when the memorial tablet was erected, the Hoysaḷas were already in possession of the south of the Banavasi province till Talaguppe hōbli, in what is now known as the Sagar taluqua where the inscription is found<sup>1</sup>. The year 1300, it should be carefully noted, refers to the battle of Sirsi and not to the date, when this viragal was raised, which event probably took place a year or two later. It follows therefore that Vīra-Ballāḷa was given his usual designation for the simple reason that he was then the acknowledged ruler of these territories<sup>2</sup>.

Kāva-dēva, it would seem from the Kadamba inscription of 1307, soon recovered his lost dominions. This record as it is found in the Sagar hōbli (which is much more to the south than that of Talaguppe), suggests that Vīra-Ballāḷa was forced by Kāva-dēva and his allies to withdraw from the Kadamba territory and confine his rule to his own kingdom<sup>3</sup>.

It seems possible that in their struggle against the Hoysaḷas, the Kadambas were helped by their Yādava overlords, who had probably retrieved by this time the losses they had sus-

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 45 (Kanarese original).

<sup>2</sup> It may be urged on the other hand that Kava-deva accepted the overlordship of the Hoysaḷas; and accordingly when this viragal was set up, Vīra-Ballāḷa had to be mentioned with his *birudas*, for the reason that he was Kava-deva's liege-lord, in keeping with the general rule followed in all the inscriptions of the feudatory rulers. This objection would have indeed held water but for the two Kadamba inscriptions dated respectively in 1307 and 1312, which invest Kava-deva with full imperial titles and do not contain the least hint of the recognition of the Hoysaḷa supremacy. Cf. E. C., VIII, Sa, 32; Sb, 59.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VIII, Sa, 32.

tained in 1294. As a matter of fact the Hoysaḷa inscription of 1305 speaks of Vīra Ballāḷa III as marching against the Yādava Chakravartī who had opened hostilities against the Hoysaḷas and had determined to capture their King<sup>1</sup>. The Kadambas no doubt profited by these warlike activities of the Yādavas, but the latter had soon to abandon the Dekkan for good on account of a fresh invasion of their capital Dēvagiri by Mallik Kafur, the general of the Delhi Sultan Alla-ud-din. Ferishta informs us that on this occasion Rāma-dēva, the Yādava King, found himself unequal to oppose the Muhammadan troops. This was evidently because his army was absent in Kaṇṇāṭaka fighting the Hoysaḷas. Hence leaving his son in the fort he advanced with presents to meet the general in order to settle the terms of peace. Mallik Kafur wrote an account of his expedition, and sent it to Alla-ud-din; and some time after he accompanied Rāma-dēva to Delhi, with rich presents and seventeen elephants to pay his respects to the Sultan<sup>2</sup>. We may infer from this that the Yādavas lost much of their power and consequently they could no longer exercise their hold on their feudatories. This is confirmed by the Kadamba inscription of 1307, above referred to, which by giving imperial titles to Kāva-dēva, tacitly implies that he asserted his independence, besides defeating the efforts of Vīra- Ballāḷa to deprive him of his kingdom.

But the Kadamba power was also shaken by the invasion of Mallik Kafur to the south. In A. H. 710 (A. D. 1310), Ferishta observes, Alla-ud-din deputed Mallik Kafur and Khwaja Haji with a great army to reduce Dwara Samudra (Dōrasamudra) and Maabir in the Deccan. Leaving some officers with part of the army at Peitun, on the Gōḍāvari, to overcome the Yādava King, Mallik Kafur continued his march to the south. On crossing the Yādava frontier he began to lay waste the country and eventually reached the seacoast, after three month's march from Delhi. During a great part of this time "they were opposed by the Hindoos, whose countries they traversed. Among others they engaged Bilal Dew, Raja of the Carnatic and defeating him, took him prisoner, and ravaged his territory"<sup>3</sup>. It is significant to notice that Mallik Kafur was attacked by the Hindus before his invasion of Dōrasamudra. This might lead us to conclude that on his way to the latter place

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VIII, Sa, 156.

<sup>2</sup> Ferishta-Briggs, I, p. 309.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 373.

he passed through or near Hāṅgal, where his passage was disputed by the Kadambas. It is likely that a battle was fought in which the Muhammadans were victorious, and they marched on Dōrasamudra, which held out attractions of rich plunder. Thus it was that the selfish policy of self-aggrandizement that was so closely followed by Vīra-Ballāḷa redounded to his own ruin along with that of the other south Indian dynasties. Divided by internal dissensions, the Hindus failed to combine their forces and to offer an united front to the Muhammadan invader. Vīra-Ballāḷa, who was largely responsible for these intestine feuds, paid a heavy penalty for his imprudent conduct. He was completely vanquished by Mallik Kafur and was forced to capitulate to the Muhammadans.

The Kadambas seem to have slowly revived their power after their defeat by Mallik Kafur. But by this time the Hoysaḷas also forced their way up and once again started their encroachments. Before 1320 they conquered the southern part of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand till the Talaguppe hōbli in the Sagar taluqua<sup>1</sup>. It is not improbable that by 1324 they also occupied Gutti. But we do not notice any further encroachments on the part of the Hoysaḷas; and apparently the Kadambas retained the rest of this province as well as the Hāṅgal Five Hundred. The possible reason for this sudden stop of operations in the west was that in 1326 an expedition sent by Muhammad II, of the house of Tughlak, completely defeated Vīra-Ballāḷa and demolished the city of Dōrasamudra<sup>2</sup>.

The Hoysaḷa kingdom once again crippled evidently took a long time to revive and regain its former power. But that unfortunate incident was productive of one good result inasmuch as it made Vīra-Ballāḷa see the necessity of changing his policy. Instead of wasting his energies in fighting with his neighbours, he now rightly determined to strengthen his frontier defences against the more formidable enemy from the north. Ferishta tells us that Vīra-Ballāḷa accordingly built a strong city on the frontier of his kingdom and named it Beejanaggar (Vijayanagara) after his son Beeja (Vijaya). He then mustered a strong force and placed it under the command of Krishn Naig (Kṛishṇa Nāyaka), instructing

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VIII, Sa, 135 (Kanarese original).

<sup>2</sup> Zia-u-d dīn Barṇi, *Tarīk-i Firoz Shāhī*, Elliot, III, p. 236. Cf. Née, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 107; Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*, p. 136.

him to proceed against Warangal. Kṛishṇa Nāyaka reduced Warangal, and compelled Imad-ul-Mulk, the governor, to retreat to Dowlatabad. Ballāḷa-dēva and Kṛishṇa Nāyaka, continues Ferishta, concluded a defensive alliance with the Rāja of Maabir who was formerly a tributary "to the government of the Carnatic"<sup>1</sup>, i. e. the Hoysala King. This Rāja of Maabir—which evidently means the king of the west coast<sup>2</sup>—seems to have been no other than the Kadamba King of Goa, who had just then revived the power of their family. For at the time which we are speaking about, the Goa Kadambas were the only powerful ruling family in the west, and they bore the title of the "lord of the Western Ocean"<sup>3</sup>. Furthermore, the statement of Ferishta that the kings of Maabir were once the tributaries of the Hoysalas, perfectly agrees with the information furnished by the records that Vira-Ballāḷa II levied tribute from the Goa Kadamba King Vijayāditya II<sup>4</sup>. To proceed with our narrative, the confederate Hindus siezed the country occupied by the Muhammadans in the Dekkan, and expelled them so that, concludes Ferishta, "within a few months Mahomed Toghluk had no possessions in that quarter except Dowlutabad"<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ferishta-Briggs, I, p. 427.

<sup>2</sup> The Muhammadans of India in common with the Arabs called all the west coast of India Maabir, or the landing place, from their making it the first land after they leave Arabia. In a narrower sense, this term was probably applied to the coast of Konkan, for the reason that there was at this time considerable commercial intercourse between Goa and Arabia, as will be seen in a later chapter. The same country is called Ma'bar—the real Arabic word, of which Maabir seems to be a corrupted form—by Ziaud-din Barni, I. c.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 572. The Kadambas of Hangal do not seem to have joined this confederacy and it was probably for this reason that they were attacked in 1347 by Marapa, who had been entrusted by Vira-Ballāḷa III with the defence of the Northern frontier, and who along with his brothers succeeded to the government of Karnataka after the downfall of the Hoysala dynasty. *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 375. Cf. note 5 below.

<sup>4</sup> Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 119. Cf. *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, IX, p. 231. Opposition that the king of Maabir was the Kadamba King of Goa is further confirmed by the fact that at the conclusion of the first expedition under Malik Kafur, the latter built a mosque at Ram-eswar (Ferishta-Briggs, I, pp. 373-374), which Mr. Briggs seems to identify with Cabo de Rama in Salsette, Goa. He says: "The Rameswar here alluded to must be the point of that name in Canara, south of Goa and not that at 'Adam's Bridge', on the Gulf of Manar'".

<sup>5</sup> Ferishta-Briggs, I. c. It seems that the northern frontier was at this time

After obtaining this victory over the Delhi Mussulmans and having fortified the northern boundaries of his kingdom, Ballāja III turned his arms against the Muhammadans of the south. Ibn Batuta affirms that this monarch encroached on the territory of the Sultan of Madura and laid siege to the city of Cobban for six months. At the end of this period the Muhammadans being attacked on all sides by the Hindus made a desperate attempt to repulse the enemy. They attacked them unawares when the latter were enjoying their siesta. The *coup de main* succeeded; Ballāja-dēva's army was completely vanquished and the King himself was taken prisoner. The Muhammadans were determined to exterminate the enemy of their race, and not even the promise of fabulous riches could make them derogate from the object of their attack. The King was flayed alive and his skin was stuffed with straw and suspended from the walls of the city<sup>1</sup>.

The death of Vira-Ballāja was an irretrievable loss to the Hoysaḷas, and practically marked the end of the Hoysaḷa dynasty. Vira-Ballāja IV, the son of the murdered King, wore the crown for two or three years, and the power of the Hoysaḷas soon melted away.

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entrusted to the care of Harihara I of Vijayanagara and his brothers,  
Cf. Heras, *Beginnings of Vijayanagara History*, pp. 93-101.

<sup>1</sup> Defremery-Sanguinetti, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, IV, pp. 195-198.

## CHAPTER XIX

### Purandara-Raya

All these momentous events, recorded in the last chapter, were crowded within such a brief span of fifteen years that it does not seem improbable that the Kadambas were all the while enjoying the blessings of peace. But the end of the Kadambas was not far removed from that of the Hoysaḷas. Though the ruling dynasty fell, the organisation of the Empire they had left was too strong for the disrupting forces to work out their normal results. We have said above that the defence of the northern frontier was entrusted to Harihara and his brothers. These trustees now came forward as the successors of the Hoysaḷa Emperors and carried on the government in the same way as before. In 1347 Mārāpa, one of the brothers of Harihara, started on an expedition of conquest to the west. An inscription of this year says that when Mārāpa was proceeding to Gōkarṇa, he encountered the Kadamba King "surrounded like Śakra by an army composed of elephants, horsemen and foot-soldiers, and defeating him in battle... came to that place of leisure"<sup>1</sup>. The inscription does not mention the name of this King. However he seems to have been known as Purandara-Rāya, who is said in an epigraph of the Shīmoga taluqua to have made a grant to Vidyāśankara or Vijaya Śankara-Bhārati-guru<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 375.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VII, Sh, 79. This inscription does not seem genuine, not only because the date appears to be 1154 while speaking of Harihara I of Vijayanagara, but also because of the use of the word Vidyānagara instead of Vijayanagara. Cf. Heras, *Beginnings of Vijayanagara History*, pp. 19-35. Yet the fact of its fabrication proves the historicity of Purandara-Raya. The fabricators of this inscription wanted to give all possible appearance of truth to the document. Hence the persons named were to be historical personages. Otherwise they could not obtain the effects intended.

This person was the *Jagat guru* of the Śringeri maṭha from 1228 to 1333<sup>1</sup>. Hence Purandara-Rāya who was his contemporary, was also the contemporary of Mārāpa. Moreover Harihara I, the first Vijayanagara King, is reported in the same record to have renewed the grant made by the Kadamba Purandara-Rāya. This would imply that Harihara was considered to be a successor of Purandara-Rāya; and indeed after the defeat of the Kadamba King by Mārāpa, Harihara very likely took possession of the Kadamba territory.

Purandara-Rāya is described in the above inscription from the Shimoga taluqua as "an ornament of the Kadamba-kula". From the same record it also appears that he bore the name of Kadambarasa. Another record from the same taluqua associates him with the government of Sāmantadurga and Banavasi, and confers on him the title of Mahārāja<sup>2</sup>.

The conquest of Purandara-Rāya closes the last chapter in the glorious history of the Hāṅgal Kadambas. For ten long centuries interspersed with glorious and memorable events, the Kadambas had held the field victorious in the Dekkan. The defeat of the Kadamba King by Mārāpa and the probable acquisition of his territory by the sons of Saṅgama terminated a victorious dynasty with the absorption of its territories by the newly founded Vijayanagara Empire<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rice, *Mysore*, I, p. 380.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VII, Sh, 80. For the same reasons as mentioned above, this inscription is also to be considered not genuine. Besides it is for the first time that a copper-plate grant is signed by a Kadamba King, a fact which further confirms our suspicion. This seems to be the custom of the Vijayanagara Emperors. Hence the grant seems to have been fabricated in later days.

<sup>3</sup> Nikitin, the mediaeval Russian traveller, who was in India towards the close of the first Vijayanagara dynasty, speaks of the "Hindoo Sultan Kadam", who resided at Bichenegher (Vijayanagara). Nikitin, *India in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 29 (Hakluyt Society). From this statement Mr. Sewell thought that Nikitin favoured the view that the Vijayanagara rulers "belonged to the old royal house of the Kadambas of Banavase". Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 22. Several years before, Mr. Lewis Rice also had advanced the theory that the Saṅgama family were connected with the Kadambas. Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. XXVI. But there seems to be no epigraphical evidence to support this view. Rev. Taylor, *Oriental Manuscripts*, II, p. 67, records the tradition mentioning the Kadamba prince Sankara-deva in the S. S. 1258 or A. D. 1336. We have no epigraphical evidence as regards this King. He was perhaps immediately related to Purandara-Raya, though we do not dare to affirm that he was his son, for the dates of Rev. Taylor do not seem trustworthy.



PART V

**The Kadambas of Goa**





Kantakāchārya

Nāgavarmma

Guhalla-dēva I

(1) **Shashtha-dēva I**

or

Chaturbhujā

966-980 (?)

(2) **Guhalla-dēva II**

980-1005 (?)

(3) **Shashtha-dēva II**

1005-1050

(4) **Jayakēśi I**

1050-1080

(5) **Guhalla-dēva III**

1080-1100

(6) **Vijayāditya I**

1100-1104

(7) **Jayakēśi II**

1104-1147-48

(8a) **Śivachitta**

or

Pērmādi  
1147-48-1181

and

(8b) **Vishṇuchitta**

or

Vijayāditya II  
1147-48-1187-88

(9) **Jayakēśi III**

1187-88-1216

Śivachitta Vajra-dēva

1193-1202 (Yuvaraja)

(10) **Tribhuvanamalla**

or

Sōva-dēva

1216-1237-38

(11) **Shashtha-dēva III**

1246-47-1260

A daughter m. to

(12) **Kāma-dēva**

1260-1310-11 (?)

(13) **Son**

1310-11-1328 (?)

(14) **Son**

1328-1340 (?)

## CHAPTER I

### Origin of the Dynasty

Though the authority of the Kadambas was considerably undermined by the Chalukya conquerors, their power, it would appear, was not completely eclipsed. They still retained considerable influence in the period of their political obscurity and maintained the prestige of being one of the foremost families in Kaṇṇāṭaka. As in the days of their ascendancy they continued to intermarry with other royal families still ruling in the country. Thus the Vēlūrpaḷayam plates affirm that the consort of the Pallava King Dantivarṇma, who ruled in the 8th century, was Aggaḷanimmaṭi, who is called "a crest jewel of the Kadamba family"<sup>1</sup>. So an inscription of the 9th century tells us that Dēvabbarasi, the crowned Queen of the Nolamba King Mahēndra, was of Kadamba extraction<sup>2</sup>. Again the insurrection of the Kadambas of Banavasi in the 10th century, shows that they were as influential then as they were in the 9th century; and though they were defeated and the rebellion collapsed, the Chalukyas regarded them as a power not to be neglected. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Chalukyas made common cause with them and with their assistance brought about the overthrow of the Rāshtrakūṭas.

That the progenitors of the Goa Kadambas were also at this time sufficiently powerful is confirmed by the Marcella plates of Shashtha-dēva<sup>3</sup>, which by recording the achievements of these chiefs before they established themselves as feudatories of the Chalukyas, show that they were men of consequence. The earliest of these chieftains according to this document, is Kantakāchārya, about whom it avers that "his fame like endowed kings went even beyond the seven seas"; that he had installed many distress-

<sup>1</sup> S. I. I, II, part 5, p. 511.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., X, Mb, 50.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix, III, No. 1.

ed kings; and that he was well known for his wealth and heroism. Nāgavarmma, his son and successor, was learned in the Vēdas and political science, and "deserved praise even from kings". Guhalladēva I, who succeeded Nāgavarmma, seems to have enjoyed greater power than was ever exercised either by his father or his grand-father. The record compares him to Arjuna, and as if by way of illustrating his valour says that he killed a tiger with his bare fists. The record proceeds: "He who had surpassed even the powers of the god Indra, by his spreading fame, protected the earth by rendering it free from the fear of anybody and bringing it under his royal umbrella. He was an ally of the kings (reigning in countries) extending to the sea." These kings were very likely the southern Silāhāras who were ruling on the western coast with Goa as their capital.

This King begot Shashtha, whom we indentify with Chaturbhujā of the later inscriptions<sup>1</sup>. It was probably during Chaturbhujā's reign that the Kadambas of this branch finally established themselves as mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras. This King seems to have been a contemporary of Iṛivabēḍānga-dēva of the Hāṅgal Kadamba family, who, we know for certain, took part in the rebellion against the Rāshtrakūṭas. Chaturbhujā also very likely joined this grand coalition of the southern powers; or else we would not be able to account for the rise of the family as one of the feudatories of the Chalukyas in the 10th century. The original kingdom of the Goa Kadambas seems to have been the country to the south of the island of Goa including a part of Salsette and perhaps a strip of land extending towards the Western Ghats. Their capital was Chandrapura, the modern Chandor. This appears to be one of the most ancient towns in the Koṅkan, probably founded by Chandraditya, a son of the Chalukya King Pulikēśi II<sup>2</sup>. This prince apparently ruled over the Koṅkan as a viceroy on behalf of his father. The ancient importance of the town could therefore be one of the

<sup>1</sup> Guhalladēva II according to this inscription was the son of Shashtha. The former is said in other inscriptions of the family to be the son of Chaturbhujā, which shows that Chaturbhujā was the title of Shashtha. Archivo da Secretaria Geral do Governo, Pangim, *Monções do Reino*, No 93, fol. 1396. This Document was published by Xavier, *Descricao do Coqueiro, Arequeira e Moedas de Goa*, pp. 61-65; and also in *Gabinete Litterario das Fontainhas*, I.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Stuarts Gomes, *Chandrapur nao sera Chandor*, *Boletim Do Instituto Vasco da Gama*, No. 7, pp. 41-42. Cf. *J. A.*, VIII, p. 45.

causes for its being selected as the capital of the new chiefs. Indeed in the *Dvyāsharaya*, a Sanskrit work which was probably written by the famous Jaina guru Hēmachandra in the 12th century, King Jayaquēśi (I) is said to have been ruling at Chandrapura<sup>1</sup>. Further the geographical situation of this town, on the left bank of the river straightly leading to the sea, must have enhanced its advantages as a capital. The memory of Guhalla-dēva, one of the early chiefs of the family, seems to have been perpetuated in modern Chandor, as his name is associated with one of the gates of the ancient fort. All these facts seem to point to Chandrapura as the pristine capital of the Goa Kadambas.

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<sup>1</sup> *J. A.*, IV, p. 233. This city is located in the Dekkan by Hemachandra, but here this word evidently means the whole of India south of the Narbada river and the Vindya mountains. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 568, says that this city of Chandrapura mentioned by Hemachandra "has not been identified,—unless, perchance, the name is a Sanskritised form denoting Chandgad, the chief town of the mahal of that name in the Belgaum District." Dr. Fleet was not well acquainted with the geography of Goa, nor could he know in those early days of historical research in Karnataka that in the time of Jayakesi I the Kadamba Dynasty of Goa had not yet conquered the Belgaum District. The first stone inscription of these kings above the Ghauts belongs to Guhalla-deva III, and is found in the village of Kadaroli, Belgaum District. Cf. Appendix, III, No. 21.

## CHAPTER II

### Guhalla-deva II

**G**uhalla-dēva was the son of King Chaturbhuja and of his Queen Akkā-dēvi<sup>1</sup>. An inscription of one of his successors describes him as "the eye of the Universe, of extensive majesty, on account of whose brilliance the masses of the darkness of his foes took to themselves an abode in the most dreadful caverns"<sup>2</sup>. The Marcella plates of his son Shashtha state that he was "an ornament of the race of the Kadambas. The atoms of dust from his lotus feet were playing on the rows of the heads of the humiliated kings of the seven Malayas"<sup>3</sup>. We may deduce from these remarks that he overcame the neighbouring rulers and extended the boundaries of his kingdom. These conquests, as the word "Malayas" seems to imply, probably consisted in the subjugation of a portion of the Western Ghats. This fact however should not lead us to conclude that he always acted on the offensive. The records clearly state that the infant Kadamba kingdom had to contend with many powerful enemies during this period. "He annihilated," says a copper-plate charter of his grandson Jayakēśi, "many wicked and cruel enemies of his crown and took possession of their riches and innumerable precious pearls"<sup>4</sup>. Nevertheless it is plain that on occasions of self-aggrandisement offered themselves, Guhalla-dēva did not hesitate to undertake offensive warfare. This is proved by the same charter when it records that "many kings and chiefs of powerful ports feared him, for they were afraid that he would deprive them of their power and kingdoms"<sup>5</sup>. The extent of his fame

<sup>1</sup> Appendix, III, No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Inscriptions relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa*, J.B.B.R.A.S., IX, p. 272.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix, III, No. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Archivo da Secretaria Geral do Governo, Pangim, *Moncoes do Reino*, No. 93, fol. 1396.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

may be gathered from the remarks made about his rule in the Kadamba inscriptions. We have it in the charter of Jayakēśi that he diffused the dread of his arms in all directions even as the moon spreads her bright rays<sup>1</sup>. The Marcella inscription says that he spread his splendour by bringing the whole earth under one royal canopy<sup>2</sup>.

Guhalla-dēva appears in the Panjim plates of Jayakēśi I to have helped a Pallava King. The record says: "Who was the resort of the Pallava (kings), who were frightened on account of the gaping mouths of the jackals howling cruelly in their revelry of having tasted the juice of the besieged bodies; whose victory is still proclaimed by the battlefields, fierce on account of the arrangement of a multitude of skulls of the haughty kings in the surrounding regions opposed to him"<sup>3</sup>.

It is obvious from the above extract that during a war between the Pallava King and his enemies, the former suffered severe reverses at the hands of the latter, and was besieged in his own capital; whereupon Guhalla-dēva marched to his assistance and after vanquishing the besiegers raised the siege. But who this Pallava King was we are not able to say with certainty at the present stage of historical research. We may probably identify him with one of the Nolamba kings who were ruling at this time the Nolambavāḍi province. These Nolambas styled themselves Pallavas and were perhaps recognised as such by their neighbours<sup>4</sup>. The Nolamba King contemporary of Guhalla was Nolambādhirāja, who, we know, came into hostile contact with the Chōlas<sup>5</sup>. It may be that in one of these engagements he was hard pressed by the enemy, and he called in the assistance of Guhalla-dēva.

The inscriptions also speak of a pilgrimage made by Guhalla-dēva to the temple of Śrī Sōmēśvara. This was evidently the celebrated temple of Somnath in Saurāśtra, which was well known as a place of pilgrimage throughout Hindustan from the earliest times. He seems to have sailed from his capital Chandrapura, situated on the left bank of the Parodā river. But hardly had he reached half way, when the mast of his ship broke and he was com-

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix, III, No. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., No. 2.

<sup>4</sup> The Pallava dynasty had long before become extinct.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 57.

pelled to make his way to the nearest port on friendly terms with him. This was the port of Goa, where lived a rich Muhammadan merchant named Madumod who came to the help of the stranded King. "A native of this city," says the inscription, "named Madumod, of Taji origin, the wealthiest among all the sea-faring traders, a person of great wisdom, rendered a great and public service to the above-mentioned king Guhaldev". The record concludes that he gave the King "as much wealth as nobody in any part of the world not even a king, could offer" <sup>1</sup>.

The record while narrating this incident throws a flood of light on the condition of Goa in the 11th century. It is evident that it was not in the possession of the Kadambas at this time. It probably formed part of the southern Śilāhāra kingdom, which comprised the Koṅkaṇ Nine Hundred and the Iṣṭidige country. We learn for the first time from this record that Arab traders were already settled at Goa and were carrying on trade with the western world. For as Senhor Braganza Pereira has observed, Mudamod was very likely a Muhammadan merchant whose real name was Muhammad, and the fact that he was of Taji origin clearly shows that he originally came from Taji, a place in Arabia <sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Arquivo da Secretaria Geral do Governo, Pangim, *Moncoes do Reino*, No. 93, fol. 1395.

<sup>2</sup> Braganza Pereira, *Oriente Portuguesa*, XVI, pp. 69-70.

## CHAPTER III

### Shashtha-deva II

**S**hashtha-dēva was the son and successor of Guhalla-dēva<sup>1</sup>. He is variously known in the inscriptions as Shashtha, Chaṭṭa, Chaṭṭala and Chaṭṭaya<sup>2</sup>. We have already explained how Guhalla-dēva strengthened his position by reducing the neighbouring chieftains. Shashtha-dēva closely adhered to his father's policy. The result was that before the end of his reign he became the acknowledged master of the whole of the Koṅkaṇ.

In this achievement Shashtha-dēva seems to have been helped by the dissensions that prevailed at this time between the northern and the southern branches of the Śilāhāra Dynasty. The inscriptions however, though they allude to this unhappy occurrence, do not disclose the names of the respective sovereigns that brought about this fatal conflict. Nevertheless if any inferences can be drawn from the extent of the territories of a dynasty at different periods of its history, it may be presumed that the struggle took place in the reign of the Northern Śilāhāra King Arikēsari. For we are told in his Thana charter that he, unlike his predecessors, ruled over the whole of the Koṅkaṇ<sup>3</sup>. This shows that Arikēsari captured the latter territory from the southern Śilāhāras to whom, as we know, it originally belonged<sup>4</sup>. Our conclusion is

<sup>1</sup> *E. I.*, XIII, p. 309.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 309, 310; Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 567; Fleet, *Inscriptions relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa*, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, IX, p. 273.

<sup>3</sup> *Asiatic Researches*, I, p. 357.

<sup>4</sup> The records of these families show that the hereditary kingdom of the Northern Silaharas comprised the Island of Salsette to the north of Bombay, and the adjoining territory commonly known as Kapardīkadvīpa or Kavadi-dvīpa; while that of the southern Silaharas consisted of the Konkan Nine Hundred namely, the major portion of the present territory of Goa and the Iridige country, which probably included the Sawantwadi State and the Ratnagiri District. Cf. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 538.

further strengthened by the fact that the Southern Śilāhāra dynasty became extinct at about this period with Rāttarāja as its last ruler. Now this Rāttarāja was a contemporary of the above-mentioned Arikēsari<sup>1</sup>; which is a conclusive proof that the conflict arose during their rule. It must however be noted that though Arikēsari prevailed against his enemies in this war, and even succeeded in putting an end to their sway, the result was not an unmixed blessing for the northern Śilāhāras. For as the warfare had to be continued for a long time before the enemy was brought to complete subjection, this protracted struggle must have naturally weakened the power of the northern Śilāhāras by exhausting their resources. The calamity was further aggravated by the death of Arikēsari soon after, as in the reign of his infant son Chittarāja, the authority of the central government was greatly relaxed<sup>2</sup>.

This gave an opportunity for Shashtha-dēva to make a bid for the sovereignty of the Koṅkaṇ. Advancing from his capital Chandrapura, he first annexed the Koṅkaṇ Nine Hundred and then extending his conquests to the north subdued even Kavaḍi-dvīpa, the hereditary province of the Northern Śilāhāras. Referring to this expedition the Narēndra inscription of Jayakēśi II observes: "As he took Kavaḍi-dvīpa and many other regions, built a bridge with lines of ships reaching as far as Laṅkā, and claimed tribute among grim barbarians, exceedingly exalted was the dominion of the Kādamba sovereign, which many called a religious estate for the establishment (of the worship) of Rāma"<sup>3</sup>.

It is plain that the island of Laṅkā referred to in this inscription was not the island of Ceylon. This designation was metaphorically applied to the island of Goa, which on account of its situation

<sup>1</sup> There is an inscription of Rattaraja, which gives him a date in the month Jyeshtha (May-June) of the Kilaka Samvatsara, S. S. 930, corresponding to A. D. 1008. The copper-plate charter of Arikesari is dated in the month of Kartika (October-November) of the S.S. 930, i. e. A. D. 1017. *Asiatic Researches*, I, p. 357. He seems to have died about 1024 or 1025, since we see his son Chittaraja making a grant in 1026, Bhuler, *A Grant of Chittaraja-deva, I. A.*, V, pp. 277, 280. Accordingly giving him a reign of 25 years, he must have come to the throne in A. D. 1000.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> *E. I.*, XIII, p. 309.

resembled the classic island of *Śimhala*. This is probably the origin of the title of the Southern *Śilāhāras* namely, "the best of the *Śimhala* Kings." The Kadamba chroniclers accepted this designation since the King of Goa had been vanquished by their sovereign, and they could flatter his vanity by comparing him to the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, who defeated *Rāvana*, the Lord of *Laṅkā*. That this was their intention is clear from the Degamve inscription when it records that "the lord of *Laṅkā* was subdued by him," though "(he had) not (to his aid) the building of a bridge, nor the siege of a fortress, nor the efforts of the leaders of the monkey troops, nor yet the energy of the son of *Vāsumitra*"<sup>1</sup>. It must however be said that the Lord of *Laṅkā* mentioned here does not refer to the King of the Southern *Śilāhāras*, who, as we have seen, had already been dispossessed of their kingdom, but to the northern *Śilāhāra* ruler, who possibly in conformity with the usual practice of adopting the titles of the defeated monarchs had styled himself "the lord of *Laṅkā*."

*Shashtha-dēva* however did not wish to exterminate the northern *Śilāhāra* power. What he wanted was to make them acknowledge his overlordship, and when this was agreed to he restored to them their original kingdom, namely the province of *Kavadi-dvīpa*. This we gather from the *Narēndra* inscription which, speaking of *Shashtha-dēva*, remarks; "When the exalted valour of *Chattaya dēva* in his sport upon the ocean reached him, *Mammuri* of the famous *Thāṇeya*, hearing of it came into his presence, saw him, led him to his palace, and displayed intense affection; and he bestowed on him his daughter with much pomp and gave to his son-in-law five *lakhs* of gold"<sup>2</sup>.

It follows from the above extract that the *Śilāhāras* ever since their defeat in the reign of *Chittarāja* had been feudatories of King *Shashtha*. Hence when he visited their court in the time of *Mammuri*, the third brother of *Chittarāja*, the former treated him with great respect befitting a suzerain lord and as a token of his esteem he gave him his own daughter in marriage. The composer of the inscription gives us an insight into the thoughts of *Mammuri* at that psychological moment. "As though saying," he writes, "To what other man that will repay me again with cor-

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Inscriptions relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa*, J.B.B.R.A.S., IX, p. 272.

<sup>2</sup> E. I., XIII, p. 310.

responding kindness, rather than this Lord of the Ocean, can I do it?', King Mammuri duly bestowed a garland on King Chattraya amidst the approval of the world, bearing... as a brilliant example of liberality and a *jhampaḷ-āchārya*"<sup>1</sup>. This conduct of Mammuri towards his overlord Shashtha-dēva has an exact parallel in the treatment given by Jayakēśi I, the son of Shahstha-dēva to his overlord the Chalukya Emperor Vikramāditya Pērmāḍi-dēva. The same Narēndra inscription affirms that when the latter visited his kingdom, Jayakēśi I, went to meet him, and bestowed on him his daughter, together with "abundant ornaments, many damsels, a treasury, and wedding-gifts without count"<sup>2</sup>.

Another interesting fact mentioned about Shashtha-dēva is that he made a voyage to the land of Saurāśtra. "When gardens on every side", the inscription relates, "white plastered houses, alleys, horse-stables, flower gardens, agreeably connected bazars, harlots' quarters, and tanks were charming the eye, the Lord of the Ocean (Chattraya) duly proceeded on (his ships) over the sea in sport, along with (the whole population) of Gove with great pomp as far as the land of Surashtra". This voyage to Saurāśtra reminds us of the one made by his father Guhalla-dēva. It was evidently a pilgrimage made to the temple of Somnath, for the same inscription says that on this occasion Shashtha-dēva fixed a lower price for rootcamphor, so that all might partake of the worship of "the Lord Somanatha"<sup>3</sup>. He also seems to have visited other sacred shrines such as Gōkarṇa and the Mahālakshmi temple at Kolhapur<sup>4</sup>.

It is clear from what has been said that Shashtha-dēva was as great a ruler as his father had been. Consequently it is not strange, if we find that all the records that speak of him pay a rich tribute to his kingly qualities. "He became gloriously manifest", says the Degamve record of one of his successors, "as if he were a sixth among the bulls of the Pāṇḍavas in the Kaliyuga to destroy the force of Duryōdhana"<sup>5</sup>. The Goa charter of his son Jayakēśi I states that he was successful in war like a lion among elephants and that he was the veritable column of the world<sup>6</sup>. We have already mentioned that

<sup>1</sup> E. I., XII, p. 310.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 309.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Appendix, III, No. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Fleet, *Inscriptions relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa, J.B.B.R.A.S.*, IX, p. 272.

<sup>6</sup> *Arquivo da Secretaria Geral do Governo, Pangim, Moncoes do Reino*, No 93, fol. 1396.



8. Marcella Copper-plates of Shashtha-dēva II.  
 Indian Historial Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.



**9. Panjim Copper-plates of Jayakēsi I.**

Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

he levied tribute from "the grim barbarian tribes"<sup>1</sup>. The Goa charter of Jayakēśi above referred to speaks of his having claimed tribute from the sea-ports such as Simbualla, Seylla and Mega<sup>2</sup>. This may perhaps be understood to mean that he made the traders importing commodities into his kingdom from the above ports pay certain customs duties.

The inscriptions do not speak of Shashtha-dēva's abilities as an administrator. There is no doubt that he had always the good of his subjects at heart; and this is proved by the fact that he reduced the price of camphor so that all his subjects, both rich and poor, might take part in the worship of the gods without much difficulty<sup>3</sup>. "He was kind to his people", concludes the charter of Jayakēśi I, "and by his works he redressed all the wrongs in his kingdom"<sup>4</sup>.

It is no wonder that under the fatherly care of such a prince, the city of Goa grew and flourished. Encouraged by Shashtha-dēva, traders from different countries must have flocked to this emporium. We have already quoted the glorious description of the city given in the Narēndra inscription of Jayakēśi II. With its parks and gardens beautifully laid out, its agreeably connected bazars, and the white-plastered houses; with its horse-stables, and harlots' quarters, the city of Goa must have presented indeed a magnificent spectacle. We learn from another inscription of Jayakēśi found in Goa, that the roads that led to Shashtha-dēva's capital were always filled with a concourse of people who were going to or returning from his capital<sup>5</sup>.

Shashtha-dēva ruled for a very long period. The earliest record that speaks of him is dated in the Plavanga Samvatsara, Ś. 928 by mistake for 929, corresponding to A. D. 1007-08<sup>6</sup>. He is here represented as the mahāmaṇḍalēśvara under the Chalukya Emperor Jayasīṃha II, who was then perhaps a Yuvarāja<sup>7</sup>. It is also obvious that the latter's reign was synchronous with that of Shash-

<sup>1</sup> *E. I.*, XIII, p. 307. These were perhaps the people of the Ghauts, who are referred to in the reign of Jayakēśi III.

<sup>2</sup> *Arquivo da Secretaria Geral do Governo*, I. c.

<sup>3</sup> *E. I.*, XIII, p. 309.

<sup>4</sup> *Arquivo da Secretaria Geral do Governo*, I. c. 272.

<sup>5</sup> Appendix, III, No. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 567.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 436.

tha-dēva; for none of his inscriptions speak of any other ruler of this branch of the Kadambas as his feudatory. It is possible that Shashtha-dēva reigned a few years more than his overlord. A continuation of the same Guḍicaṭṭi inscription which represents Jayakēśi I, the son of Shashtha-dēva as the mahāmaṇḍalēśvara of the Chalukya Emperor Sōmēśvara, the successor of Jayasimha, is dated in the Ānada Samvatsara Ś. 974 expired (by mistake 973) corresponding to A. D. 1052-53<sup>1</sup>. This would perhaps show that Shashtha-dēva died in 1050 or thereabout after a long reign of about forty-five years.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

## CHAPTER IV

### Jayakesi I

**S**hashtha-dēva was succeeded by his son Jayakēśi I. It seems certain that the strong rule of the former for well-nigh half a century resulted in the firm establishment of the Kadamba sway over the Koṅkan. Consequently when Jāyakēśi I ascended the throne, he could venture to take the bold step of making Gōpakapaṭṭaṇa, the erstwhile capital of the Southern Śilāhāras, the principal seat of his government. "His arm", says the inscription, "being the resting place for the embraces of the goddess of bravery he, most energetically illuminating the world with the abundance of his fame, spotless as the tremulous rays of the moon, made his firm abode in the city of Gopakapaṭṭaṇa"<sup>1</sup>.

Jayakēśi I was a worthy son of a great father. We have in his own copper-plate charter that many princes and lords of other ports and of sea-girt islands paid homage to him<sup>2</sup>. He is reported to have always put himself at the head of his powerful fleet which, says the inscription, "was ever ready with numberless fortified vessels to sail through the seas"<sup>3</sup>. The importance of the fleet as an arm of warfare had been realized in the reign of Shashtha-dēva, who had used it with great advantage in subjugating the Northern Śilāhāras. Jayakēśi, it appears from the above record, improved it and rendered it more efficient. It is not strange therefore, if before long he made his power felt by the neighbouring princes.

We learn from the Degamve inscription of his grandson Śiva-chitta that Jayakēśi I slew the King of Kāpardika-dvīpa<sup>4</sup>. The

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Inscriptions relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa*, J.B.B.R.A.S., IX, p. 283.

<sup>2</sup> Arquivo da Secretaria Geral do Governo, Pangim, *Moncoes do Reino*, No 93, fol. 1396.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, *o. c.*, p. 272.

inscription however does not mention the name of this ruler, nor the circumstances that finally led to his destruction. But the fact that Mammuri, the northern Śilāhāra King who had been restored to his kingdom of Kāpardika-dvīpa by Shashtha-dēva, died about the year 1056 A. D. and that nothing is thereafter heard of his dynasty till the year 1095, would suggest that it was Mammuri that met his death at the hands of Jayakēśi. It may be that soon after the demise of the great King Shashtha-dēva, his feudatory Mammuri, thinking that he could take advantage of the new King's inexperience rebelled against Jayakēśi I. But the latter, thanks to the efficient army and fleet left by his father, defeated and killed the rebel and annexed his province to his already extensive kingdom. From Kāpardika-dvīpa he probably led an inroad into the Lāṭa kingdom for a grant of the time of Jayakēśi records that 'he killed the pride of the best of the Lāṭas'¹.

Jayakēśi is also said to have uprooted a certain Kāma-dēva². But who this Kāma-dēva was is not specified in the lithic records. However while studying the history of the Dekkan, we are made aware of one Tribhuvanamalla Kāma-dēva, who lived in the first quarter of the 12th century. He was a feudatory chief under the Chalukya Emperor Vikramāditya VI and belonged to the Pāṇḍya family³. It is not certain in what part of the country his kingdom lay, but if one could judge from his titles, he seems to have had Gōkaṇṇa as his capital and a part of the Southern Koṅkan for his principality. For the inscriptions consulted by Dr. Fleet give him the designations of "the Lord of Gōkaṇṇa, the best of towns", and "the ruler of the Koṅkaṇa *rāshṭra*"⁴. It is clear from this that Kāma-dēva ruled over a territory bordered on the northern side by the kingdom of the Kadambas. This close proximity was obviously not conducive to cordial relations. It appears that they encroached on each other's dominions; for the fact that Kāma-dēva assumed the title of "the ruler of the Koṅkaṇa *rāshṭra*" would go to show that he contested with Jayakēśi the sovereignty over the Koṅkan. That Jayakēśi had to contend with a powerful rival is apparent from the

¹ Fleet, o.c., p. 272.

² Appendix, III, No. 2.

³ Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 452. The reference to the inscription is not given.

⁴ Ibid.

viragal found at Rāya (Goa). This inscription records the death in an engagement of Haḍavaḷa Doṇarigobbarasa, who was administering the southern division of the Kadamba kingdom, with Veḷḷiapura, the present Velim, as his administrative headquarters<sup>1</sup>. Jayakēśi probably directed this officer to deal with the situation but on his failure himself proceeded to the south and won a decisive victory over his enemy.

We are told in these inscriptions that Jayakēśi I destroyed the Chaṇḍas and the Chōḷas<sup>2</sup>. Who these Chaṇḍas were, it is not possible to say at the present stage of our knowledge of the dynasties that ruled in the Dekkan. But with regard to Jayakēśi's relations with the Chōḷas we are informed in the Narēndra inscription that "he speedily checked the Chōḷas who approached recklessly as the ocean streams over its bounds"<sup>3</sup>. He seems to have come in conflict with them during one of their inroads into the Chalukya Empire. We saw in the course of our narrative that this was the period when the Chōḷas were disputing with the Chalukyas their supremacy over the Dekkan. It is also known that though the Chalukyas suffered a few reverses at the outset, Sōmēśvara, the Chalukya Emperor, finally succeeded in ousting the enemy from his dominions<sup>4</sup>. In this task he was very likely helped by his loyal feudatory Jayakēśi.

The friendship subsisting between the two royal families seems to have been strengthened at this period by the marriage of the daughter of Jayakēśi to Sōmēśvara's son Vikramāditya, when the latter visited the kingdom of the Goa Kadambas. "When the monarch Pērmāḍi-dēva", so runs the inscription, "on the borders of his land, came with joy, he went to meet him then, gave him his own beloved daughter with pouring of water, lavishly bestowed on him abundant ornaments, many vessels, a treasury, and wedding gifts without count, and became illustrious as a tree of desire unique on earth"<sup>5</sup>. However it is strange that Bīḥaṇa does not mention this event in his *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita*. He merely says that when Vikramāditya marched through the

<sup>1</sup> Appendix, III, No. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *E. I.*, XIII, p. 310.

<sup>4</sup> *S. I. I.*, I, pp. 52, 134; *S. I. I.*, II, p. 110; *Carn. Desa Inscriptions*, I, p. 144, referred to by Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 441.

<sup>5</sup> *E. I.*, XIII, p. 310.

Malaya country, Jayakēśi came to him and brought him presents<sup>1</sup>.

An interesting detail is furnished by the Karihalasige inscription, which asserts that Jayakēśi caused the Chalukyas and the Chōlas to become friends at Kānchi<sup>2</sup>. Taken by itself this information is somewhat perplexing, as Jayakēśi is always described in the other records as the destroyer of the Chōlas. But this difficulty is cleared by Bilhaṇa in the *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita*. We have said that the Chōlas made several attempts to encroach upon the territories of the Chalukyas during this period. Bilhaṇa tells us that Vikramāditya decided to take some definite action against the Chōlas and marched against them. He was however stopped from crushing their power by overtures of friendship on the part of the Chōla King Rājakesarivarmma (Vīra Rājendra-dēva<sup>3</sup>), who offered the hand of his daughter in marriage to Vikramāditya, on condition that the latter retired to the Tuṅgabhadra<sup>4</sup>. It seems certain that Jayakēśi joined his son-in-law in this expedition against the Chōlas and probably acted as the plenipotentiary of Vikramāditya and concluded the above treaty with the Chōla sovereign. This theory admittedly gives a satisfactory explanation of the fact recorded in the Karihalasige inscription, that Jayakēśi brought about the friendship between the Chalukyas and the Chōlas at Kānchi.

Another achievement of Jayakēśi is that he established the Chalukya in his kingdom<sup>5</sup>. The details connected with this event are also to be found in the *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita*. After narrating the incidents mentioned above, Bilhaṇa remarks that soon after leaving Kānchi the news reached Vikramāditya that his father-in-law was dead and that there was a revolution in the Chōla kingdom. He at once started for the south and installed his brother-in-law on the throne of Kānchi. He then returned to the Tuṅgabhadra. But he heard almost immediately that his brother-in-law had lost his life in a fresh rebellion and that Rājiga, the lord

<sup>1</sup> Buhler, *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita*, introd., p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *On Some Sanskrit Copper-plates found in the Belgaum Collectorate*, J. B. B. R. A. S., IX, p. 242, text line 2. Cf. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 567.

<sup>3</sup> S. I. I., I, pp. 231, 232.

<sup>4</sup> Buhler, *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita*, p. 34-35.

<sup>5</sup> Fleet, *Inscriptions relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa*, J. B. B. R. A. S., IX, p. 282.

of Vengi<sup>1</sup>, had taken possession of the throne of Kānchi. He instantly prepared to give battle to Rājiga. The latter concluded an alliance with Sōmēśvara II, the brother of Vikramāditya, who was their common enemy. When Vikramāditya at length reached Rājiga's forces, Sōmēśvara's army was encamped with hostile intentions not far off in the rear. And in the bloody battle that ensued Vikramāditya was victorious. Rājiga fled and Sōmēśvara was taken prisoner. Bilhaṇa says that Vikramāditya at first intended to restore his brother to liberty and to the throne. But eventually he decided otherwise and allowed himself to be proclaimed King of the Dekkan<sup>2</sup>.

In fighting this strong coalition Vikramāditya seems to have received valuable help from the Yādava prince Seṇachandra II. For in the *Vṛatakhaṇḍa* of Hēmadri, Seṇa is represented as having saved Vikramāditya from a coalition of his enemies and to have placed him on the throne of Kalyāṇa<sup>3</sup>. It is also possible that Vikramāditya solicited the help of his powerful feudatory Jayakēśi. The latter thereupon went to his assistance, and in the words of the record, overcoming all opposition he established the Chalukya in his kingdom.

The inscriptions also tell us that Jayakēśi I conquered the Ālupas and the Pallavas<sup>4</sup>. The former were the feudatories of the Chalukyas, and had been reduced to submission by Vikramāditya VI<sup>5</sup>. We have reasons to believe that the Nōlambas, who called themselves Pallavas at this time, had also been subdued along with the Ālupas. Possibly in the confusion that followed the civil war between Vikramāditya and his brother Sōmēśvara, they renounced their allegiance to the Western Chalukyas. Consequently on the conclusion of the war, Vikramāditya directed his father-in-law Jayakēśi to subjugate these refractory mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras.

The last accomplishment of Jayakēśi mentioned in the records is that he assembled the Kadambas and that he made Kīrttiga of

<sup>1</sup> I. e., the Eastern Chalukya King Kulottunga Chola-deva I, whose original appellation was Rajendra Chola. Cf. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 445. Mr. K. V. T. Aiyer calls him Rajendra Chola II and says that he was the daughter's son of Rajendra Chola I. Cf. Aiyer, *Sketches of Ancient Deccan*, p. 263.

<sup>2</sup> Buhler, *Vikramānandadevacharita*, introd., pp. 34-37.

<sup>3</sup> Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 102.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, l. c.

<sup>5</sup> Bulher, o. c., p. 34.

Banavasi obedient to his will<sup>1</sup>. The bearing of these statements has already been explained in the chapters on Śāntivarmma II and Kīrttivarmma of the Hāṅga Kadamba family<sup>2</sup>.

The enormous influence of Jayakēśi is also evidenced from the dynastic marriages that were concluded between the Kadamba and the other royal families of the day. Thus we learn from the *Dvyāsharaya* by Hēmachandra and Abbhayatilaka that Karṇa I, of the dynasty of the Chalukyas of Anhilwad, married Mayanalladēvi, the daughter of a Kadamba prince Jayakēśi who was ruling at Chandrapura<sup>3</sup>. There is hardly any doubt that this was Jayakēśi I of the Goa Kadamba family, for King Karṇa having ruled from A. D. 1063-64 to 1093-94 was his contemporary<sup>4</sup>.

Hēmachandra gives an interesting account of this marriage. Once an artist happened to visit the court of King Karṇa and exhibited to him a roll with portraits on it. Among others the King saw a portrait of a maiden of unparalleled beauty; and on inquiries he was told that she was the daughter of King Jayakēśi of Chandrapura. Further the artist said that many princes wished to wed her, but she refused them one and all. After some time she was shown the portraits of princes painted by the Buddha *jatis* and seeing the one of Karṇa, she agreed to marry him. The artist added that it was for conveying this message that he had been specially deputed by her, and he delivered to the King the presents King Jayakēśi had sent him. The painter concluded by saying that "Rāja Jayakēśi, knowing that he (Karṇa) was a great Mahārāja, had sent him an elephant as a present". Karṇa was pleased with this gift and went out privately to see it. After having examined it, he went into the garden where he beheld a beautiful woman, who very much resembled the lady whose portrait he had seen in the roll. On asking the maiden who was in attendance, he was assured that she was the same princess of whom the painter had spoken to him. Karṇa consented to marry the princess and made her his Pat Rani (crowned queen)<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *E. I.*, XI, p. 310.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ante, pp. 108-111.

<sup>3</sup> *I. A.*, IV, p. 233.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Bühler, *Grants of the Anhilwad Chaulukyas*, *I. A.*, VI, p. 213.

<sup>5</sup> *Dvalasharaya*, *I. A.*, IV, p. 233. A different version of this is given by Merutunga Acharya in his *Prabhandhacintamani*, where Mayanalladēvi is represented as an ugly person. Tawney, *The Prabhandha-*



10. Harbour of ancient Goa, the capital of the Kadamba Dynasty (River Zairim).



11. Rāya Viragal of Jayakēśi I.  
Indian Historical Research Institute,  
St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

We said above that Jayakēśi I made the city of Goa, the capital of his kingdom. There are a few Kadamba inscriptions which give us some idea of the splendour of his capital. We are told in the Degamve grant of Śivachitta-dēva that: "The street of his (Jayakēśi's) capital was completely filled with the palanquines of his pandits, constantly passing, the poles of which were covered with jewels, and inside which were quivering the golden earrings (of their owners)"<sup>1</sup>. One of his own charters remarks that it was a "beautiful and pleasing city, the abundant happiness of which surpasses the paradise of Indra". The commercial prosperity of the place is attested by the fact that the city had trade relations with no less than fourteen countries. This shows that the fame of Goa as a commercial centre on the west coast had travelled far and wide over the continent. The countries that are enumerated in the charter are Sihalla, Callah, Zungavar, Pandu, Queralla, Chandda, Gandda, Bangalla, Gheatta, Gurjara, Laita, Pusta, Srytam and Chandrapur<sup>2</sup>.

The above inscription records that the city owed a substantial part of its prosperity to the wise administration of Sadano, a grandson of the merchant Muhammad who, as we have seen, had rendered valuable service to Guhalla-dēva. Jayakēśi appointed him governor of the Koṅkaṇ. Prudent, just and liberal, he was well versed in mathematics and "the fourteen arts, the four recourses, and the seven solitudes". It is said that by his wise rule and exemplary conduct, he put an end to all rivalry and heart-burning in the kingdom; and by visiting those who were suspected of ambition (?) with just retribution, he held

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*cinlamani*, p. 79. However the account of her experiences in a previous existence makes us believe that the stories contained in this work are pure legends. Moreover the fact that this work was completed only in the year 1361 of the Vikramaditya era (A. D 1303-4), *Ibid.*, p. VII, *i. e.*, two and a half centuries after the event, is another reason why we cannot attach much importance to its evidence. The *Dryasharaya* on the other hand was written in the 12th century, hardly forty or fifty years after the happening of the event, and gives a plausible account on the whole.

\* Fleet, *Inscriptions relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa*, J.B.B.R.A.S., IX, p. 273. The city of Goa mentioned in this documents was situated on the river Zuarim, to the north of the island, where it is now Goa a Velha, ordinarily known in Konkani as Orlém Goem.

\* Arquivo da Secreraria Geral do Governo, Panjim, *Moncoes do Reino*, No 93, fol. 1396.

in check all the mischief-makers in the country. "The power of this *pradhano*," says the inscription, "was firmly established and he was sincerely esteemed by all" <sup>1</sup>.

The charter would also have us believe that in ancient days there was not much trade at Goa and that the prosperity of the city dated from the time when this *pradhano* took up the reins of government. For the inscription continues: "Under the administration of this minister the city enjoyed great happiness and new increase of trade; and all its citizens became richer". When the other ministers became aware of the administrative abilities of Sadano, they all allowed him a free hand in their respective departments and Jayakēśi vested him with extraordinary powers.

Armed with these powers, Sadano now determined to establish in the capital a charitable institution, which in the Portuguese translation of this document is called "*casa misericordiosa*", house of mercy. Accordingly he issued orders for its construction on Friday, the 3rd of Vaixaka, in the year Jaya, of the Ś. S. 975 or A. D. 1053. The object of founding this institution in the capital was to supply food to the poor and the helpless and to provide lodgings for the pilgrims. He appointed a standing committee who were charged with the duty of daily carrying out these provisions. For the upkeep of this house of mercy the ingenious Governor devised a new tax, which was to be imposed on the owners of trading vessels and merchants coming from foreign countries. The revenues thus derived, were made over to the house of mercy. "When this new customs duty was proclaimed," says the charter, "all the foreign merchants trading in Goa accepted it willingly and took a voluntary vow among themselves to pay the tax as a charitable contribution". Yet the fact that those who refused to pay this tax were penalised would indicate that this tax was not a voluntary contribution, but was actually imposed on them by royal authority. It was further enacted that if any rich person, native or alien, happened to die without issue, his property after deducting the expenses necessary for his funeral, which was to be performed with great pomp, should be transferred to the house of mercy. It is gratifying to observe that this income was devoted to performing the obsequies of the poor

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

dead. The expenses in such cases had to be paid by the treasurer in the presence of the King and of his minister<sup>1</sup>.

The *Prabhandhacintamani*, above referred to, would have us believe that Jayakēśi met his death by ascending a funeral pyre in order to fulfil the promise he had made to a pet parrot. One day at the time of taking his meal, we are told, he called the parrot to come out of the cage. The parrot uttered the word "Puss", as if to say that it was afraid of the cat. The King looked around and not seeing the cat, solemnly assured the parrot that he would kill himself, if it sustained any injury from the cat. Thereupon the parrot approached the King and perched on the golden vessel, and was immediately slain by the cat, which was lying hidden under the vessel. When the King saw his pet killed, he rose up and not heeding the importunities of the courtiers, as aforesaid burnt himself to death<sup>2</sup>. The event, though incredible nowadays, could have happened in those days of which we are writing. Yet the book is so crowded with incredible stories, that we are forced to reject this account as a mere fiction of the author or a product of popular fancy.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Tawney, o. c., pp. 112-113.

## CHAPTER V

### Guhalla-deva III

**G**uhalla-dēva was the son and successor of Jayakēśi I. He probably came to the throne in 1180. There is an inscription of this King dated Ś. 1003 or A. D. 1181-82, which speaks of him as ruling the kingdom in that year<sup>1</sup>.

It was probably in this reign that the island of Kāvāḍi-dvīpa and the Iridige country were lost to the Kadambas of Goa. They were probably conquered from them by Anantapāla. For the Kharepatan copper-plate inscription describes as "casting into the ocean of the edge of his sword those fierce heaps of sin who, at a time of misfortune due to the hostility of relatives, obtained power devastated the land of the Koṅkaṇ harassing gods and Brahmans"<sup>2</sup>. The obvious meaning of this is, that Anantapāla forced the Kadambas to give up the part of the Śilāhāra territory which they had annexed in the previous reigns. That Guhalla-dēva and Anantapāla were contemporaries is plain from the various grants and charters of the Kadamba and the Śilāhāra families. Thus the above record of Anantapāla is dated in Ś. 1016 corresponding to A. D. 1095, while the Kadaroli inscription of Guhalla-dēva is dated in the 23rd year of the Chalukya era or A.D. 1098-99<sup>3</sup>.

There is no further mention of this ruler in the Kadamba records. It is possible that he died without an heir, for he was succeeded by his brother Vijayāditya in the early years of the 12th century.

Guhalla-dēva is described in the Kadaroli inscription above referred to as "the great lord of the best of cities by name Gopakapura". It is interesting to note that this title is for the first time conferred on a Kadamba ruler—a fact which is explained by the establishment of the Kadambas in the city of Gōpakapaṭṭaṇa only during the reign of his father Jayakēśi.

<sup>1</sup> *South Indian Epigraphy*, 1926, Nos. 471-472.

<sup>2</sup> Telang, *A New Silahara Copper-plate Grant*, I. A., IX, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix, III, No. 21.

## CHAPTER VI

### Vijayaditya

Vijayāditya appears to have been a more successful ruler than his brother Guhalla. He is described in the records as a wise administrator "through whose might no tale of woe was heard upon the earth"<sup>1</sup>. We are also informed that he stamped under his feet "the proud forehead of kings" and dispelled with his fruitful lustre the darkness of his foes<sup>2</sup>. A further allusion in the record to the Kadamba fleet and his successful campaigns to distant islands<sup>3</sup> suggest that Vijayāditya probably made good the losses the Kadambas had sustained in the previous reign. In fact a grant of his son Jayakēśi II speaks of the latter as ruling the Palasika Twelve Thousand and Kāvaḍi-dvīpa Lakh and a Quarter<sup>4</sup>, without specifying that Jayakēśi himself reconquered the latter province. It may be inferred from this that Jayakēśi II inherited this territory from his father Vijayāditya. This alone would explain the title given to the latter in the inscriptions that "he was a torch for the jewels of the land of the Koṅkaṇa"<sup>5</sup>.

Vijayāditya married Chaṭṭala-dēvi. She was the mother of Jayakēśi II and the twin sister of Bijjala-dēvi, who was the mother of Jaga-dēva of the Śāntara family of Paṭṭi-Pomburchcha-pura (Humcha)<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Inscriptions relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa*, J.B.B.R.A.S., XI, p. 273.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 283.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 273.

<sup>4</sup> *E.I.*, XIII, p. 323.

<sup>5</sup> Fleet, l. c.

<sup>6</sup> Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 98; Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 285.

## CHAPTER VII

### Jayakesi II

Jayakēśi II, the 'illustrious son' of Vijayāditya, ascended the throne some time in A. D. 1104<sup>1</sup>. It is evident from the inscriptions that the power of the Goa Kadambas reached the acme of its greatness during the reign of this monarch. The records speak of him as a feudatory of the Western Chalukya King Vikramāditya VI<sup>2</sup>. But the same records show that in the first years of his reign he aimed at a higher status and was eagerly waiting for an opportunity to free himself of the Western Chalukya control.

This opportunity presented itself when the Hoysaḷa King Viṣṇuvardhana invaded the Chalukya Empire and thus distracted the attention of the Emperor. The Hoysaḷa epigraphs tell us that Viṣṇuvardhana carried his arms successfully so far to the north as to bathe his horse in the waters of the Kṛishṇavērṇā, *i. e.* the Kṛishṇa<sup>3</sup>. The Hoysaḷas under the immediate leadership of a Daṇḍanāyaka named Gangarāja, are also reported to have inflicted a serious disaster on the army of Vikramāditya VI, when the latter was encamped at Kannegala<sup>4</sup>. This was a signal for the mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras of Vikramāditya to rise in revolt against him and to try to throw off the Western Chalukya yoke. We find that many of these subordinate chiefs took advantage of this political disturbance and proclaimed themselves independent monarchs in

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<sup>1</sup> Appendix, III, No. 4. According to this record Kshaya samvatsara was his 43rd year. In the first half of the 11th century, this year coincided with A. D. 1146-47.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Inscriptions relating the Kadamba Kings of Goa*, J. B. B. R. A. S., IX, pp. 273, 284, 300.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet, *Gaddak Inscriptions*, I. A., II, p 302.

<sup>4</sup> E. C., II, No. 73.

their own kingdoms<sup>1</sup>. The Goa Kadamba King Jayakēśi II seems to have followed their example and styled himself the "Koṅkaṇa Chakravarti" or the Emperor of Koṅkaṇ<sup>2</sup>.

The invasion of the Hoysaḷa King however caused no lasting injury to the Western Chalukya power. Vikramāditya commanded his loyal feudatory Āchugi II, the Sinda chieftain, to proceed against the refractory mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras. Āchugi II "pursued and prevailed against Poysaḷa, took Gove, put to flight Lakshma in war, valourously followed after Pāṇḍya, dispersed at all times the Malapas, and seized upon the Koṅkaṇ"<sup>3</sup>. The records also state that he gave Gōve and Uppinakatte to the flames<sup>4</sup>. Thus the punitive attempts of Jayakēśi to establish his independence ended in dismal failure.

Vikramāditya proceeded leniently with his Goa Kadamba feudatory, and the differences between them were very soon and permanently made up. The reason for this seems to be that Vikramāditya bore genuine admiration for Jayakēśi on account of his noble and warlike qualities. It could also be a stroke of diplomacy on the part of the Chalukya Emperor, as the latter at this more than at any other time was in need of loyal feudatories in the South to assist him against the rising power of the Hoysaḷas. He further strengthened this alliance by marrying his daughter to Jayakēśi. There is an inscription of the latter which gives a detailed account of how he married this "ruby of the Chalukyas." "On hearing duly", says the record, "as far as he (Vikramāditya) could hear, of the brilliant form of Jayakēśin who was thus illustrious, of the glory of him, who was beloved of the world, of the... of him who was a *bhumbhuka* of the universe, of the prowess of him who was a lion to the great valorous elephants of his foes, the Emperor of Kuntaḷa, born of Hari's body, out of esteem for his marvellous fame (said:) "to me formerly Jayakēśin with gladness of spirit... so I will duly render this world fruitful to Jayakēśin by praising him for ever." With these words displaying his

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Old Canarese and Sanscrit Inscriptions relating to the Sindavamsa Chieftains*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, pp. 234, 244.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Inscriptions relating to Kadamba Kings of Goa*, J. B. B. R. A. S., IX, p. 300.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet, *Old Canarese and Sanscrit Inscriptions Relating to the Sinda vamsa Chieftains*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, p. 269.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

majesty extending himself to his (full) height as if he were actually the Golden Mountain (Mēru) that had come into his presence, having washed in a jewelled pavilion the lotus feet of Jayakēsin) with true delight, while the prepared bright stream of water from the pitchers glistened, the Lord of Earth bestowed his daughter upon that crest-jewel of the princes"<sup>1</sup>.

His marriage with the princess of the imperial Chalukya family, whose power was in the ascendant during this period, probably secured for Jayakēsi a paramount influence among the chiefs of the Dekkan. Jayakēsi knew how to make use of this valuable influence, and was thus able shortly afterwards in 1125-26 to claim for himself such distant provinces as "the Thirty of Unkal and Sabbi, the Thirty of Kontakuḷ, the Five Hundred of Hānungal, the Thirty of Utsugrāme (and) Kādaravaḷḷi, the Thirty of Paḷalgunde, the Seventy of Vēḷugrāme, the Five Hundred of Haive, and the Lakh and a Quarter of Kavādivpā", besides the hereditary province of Koṅkaṇa Nine Hundred and Palasige Twelve Thousand<sup>2</sup>. The extent of his kingdom will be brought home to the reader when we give the modern names of these ancient provinces that comprised this vast Kingdom:

*Unkal and Sabbi.* Unkal on the high road from Dharwar to Hubli. Sabbi was perhaps a contiguous village to Unkal which has become absorbed into Unkal.

*Kuntakuḷi.* Perhap Kuntanahashalli, a small village two miles north-east of Hāngal, that has a temple of Basappa with an inscription dated 1147.

<sup>1</sup> E. I., XIII, p. 311.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 323. This would mean that Jayakesi waged war against no less than three of the neighbouring powers, viz., the Rattas of Saundatti, the Sindas of Yelburga and the Kadambas of Hangal who respectively possessed Velugrame, Kisukad and the Hangal Five Hundred. The inscription however should not be taken literally. For we know for certain that the last of these powers never acknowledged the supremacy of the Goa Kadambas. Jayakesi's military activities against them were probably confined to a few predatory raids into their kingdom. With regard to the Sindas however, we may agree with the inscription and believe that Jayakesi avenged the defeat inflicted on him by Achugi, acting under the orders of Emperor Vikramaditya. In the same manner he might have also come into hostile contact with the Rattas, in his greed for dominion; for it is clear from the various plundering excursions which he undertook that he was a great aggressor.



# KINGDOM OF THE GOA KADAMBAS

— UNDER JAYAKĒŚI II

— POSSESSIONS OF THE  
GOA KADAMBAS  
- - - POSSESSIONS OF THE  
HĀNCAL KADAMBAS



*Hānungal.* Hāngal. Cf. supra.

*Utsugrāme and Kūḍaravalli.* Kadaroli in Sampgaum Taluqua of the Belgaum District, in long. 74, 47, lat. 15, 42 twenty miles towards the north-west from Narēndra. Utsugrāme seems to have been a contiguous village afterwards absorbed into Kadaroli.

*Polalgunde.* Not identified.

*Vēlugrame.* The present Belgaum.

*Haive.* North Kanara.

*Kavadidvīpa.* The island with the adjoining territory of Salsette, near Bombay.

*Palasige.* Modern Halsi, ten miles south-east of Khanapur.

Jayakēśi was a wise administrator and he peacefully governed his vast kingdom till A. D. 1135. In this task he was ably assisted by his ministers and generals who were men of exceptional ability and who were greatly responsible for the peace and prosperity that flourished in the country during his reign. The records make special mention of one of these high officials named Lakshmaṇa or Lakshmaṇarāja. He was a great minister and Daṇḍanāyaka in the service of Vikramāditya, who gave him a commission in the household of his daughter Mailala-dēvi<sup>1</sup>. Lakshmaṇa had four sons, Bhavyarāja, Sōma, Lakshmaṇa and Singarasa (Singana or Simha). One of these Lakshmaṇas, possibly the father, is described in another inscription at Narēndra as "the high minister, governor of the women's quarters, master of the robes, high chamberlain of Mailala Mahādēvi," and, "great favourite with the King". The record then extols the exploits of this Daṇḍanāyaka saying: "Too awful to be faced, even when regarded from afar, he crossed over the Sahya (Mountains), drank up the ocean whose waters are naturally not to be traversed, eradicated the wicked, and settled the country, now the glorious Koṅkaṇ has become free from dangers"<sup>2</sup>.

His son Sōma appears to have been quite a literary celebrity. He was conversant with the sciences of logic, grammar, literary composition and politics<sup>3</sup>.

Sōma's youngest brother, Simha, is also represented as a great minister and an eminent scholar: "Was he not indeed," says the inscription, "illustrious on the ocean-encircled earth, a Patanjali

<sup>1</sup> E. I., XIII, p. 312.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 324.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 313.

in grammatical science, a Shadanana in the six systems of logic, an omniscient one in the multitude of teachings of literary composition, praised by the whole world, a distinguished Chāpakya in the whole series of exalted polity, a platform for the play of the dance of the brilliant goddess of speech?"<sup>1</sup>. From the same record we learn that Simha was a great general or Daṇḍanāyaka in the army of Jayakēśi and the records describe him as "a skilful man an ornament of generals"<sup>2</sup>. We may deduce from what we have said above that Jayakēśi extended his royal patronage to all the literary men in his kingdom. In fact the Degāmve grant of his son Sivachitta confirms our view when it states that he "honoured the discourse of wise men", and that "his conversation delighted in the pleasures of rhetoric". Furthermore, the same grant complacently remarks that in the doorway of his palace "the row of the umbrellas of his Pandits rivalling the moon (in their white colour or their roundness) were taken by the swans of his pleasure-lake with outstretched necks for a line of clouds"<sup>3</sup>.

From the second quarter of the twelfth century however the Empire of the Goa Kadambas, which had reached its widest extent and the height of its prosperity under Jayakēśi, suffered a little due to the encroachments on its territories of the Hoysaḷa King Viṣṇuvardhana. We have already noted that during the political disturbances caused by the latter's rebellion against the Chalukyas, Jayakēśi instead of remaining loyal to his overlord joined in the general attempt to put an end to the Chalukya hegemony. The Chalukya power, it seems, was not much damaged by these insurrections, and the Emperor took immediate action against the insubordinate feudatories and subdued them. The action of the Emperor however did not completely curb the ambition of the warlike Viṣṇuvardhana. Foiled in his attempts to free himself of the Chalukya control, he now entered upon a career of subjugating the neighbouring mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras and extending the Hoysaḷa dominions at their expense. It seems probable that he did not encroach on Jayakēśi's territories till the third decade of the 12th century. For the two grants of the latter at Narēndra issued in 1125 A.D. make no reference to the Hoysaḷa invasion and vest him with all those territories

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet, *Inscriptions relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa, J.B.B.R.A.S.*, IX, p. 273.

which are usually said to belong to him<sup>1</sup>. An inscription found in the Belur Taluqua dated 1133 A. D. is perhaps the first Hoysala record that mentions the annexation of Jayakēśi's territories by Vishṇuvardhana. This monarch is here described as "a fire to the forest, the fighting Kadamba"; and again as "a wild fire to the forest of the Kadamba"<sup>2</sup>. It claims for him along with other provinces wrested from various kings, those of Hāṅgal and Halsi, the latter of which certainly belonged to the Kadambas of Goa<sup>3</sup>. Another inscription of the year 1136 seems to mention the same fact, when it says that he took Pānungal in half a second with a simple flip of his finger....killing only with a glance.....natha who was taking Kisukal; he pursued Jayakēśi and gained possession of the Pālasige Twelve Thousand and the...Five hundred"<sup>4</sup>. The Five Hundred province here referred to was most likely Haive Five Hundred.

But it will be wrong to suppose that these newly conquered territories remained long in the possession of Vishṇuvardhana. The risings in these provinces were frequent and consequently no efficient control was possible. This we infer from the viragals found in the Belur Taluqua. One of them, whilst giving an account of campaigns mentions that in Ś. 1060 (A. D. 1138) Vishṇuvardhana laid siege to Hāṅgal<sup>5</sup>. The other viragal which is not dated records *en passant* the plundering of the same city by "the strong-armed, Vira-Ganga Hoysala-Dēva"<sup>6</sup>. The facts that Vishṇuvardhana was often obliged to put down rebellions in these provinces, and that, as we have already seen, his successors had to conquer them anew, clearly show that his hold over these newly acquired dominions was rather weak and he did not have them under his rule for any appreciable length of time. At all events it is plain that the provinces conquered from the Goa Kadambas were very soon recovered by them. For a viragal dated 1140 A. D. records the death of a Hoysala officer in a cow raid made by Jayakēśi in the Hāṅgalnāḍ<sup>7</sup>. The record also states that Vishṇuvardhana was on this occasion at

<sup>1</sup> E. I., XII, pp. 316, 323.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., V, Bl, 124.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> E. C., V, Bl, 17.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 202.

<sup>6</sup> E. C., VI, Cm, 71. The changes of fortune that attended Vishṇuvardhana's military campaigns against the Kadambas of Hāṅgal are fully dealt with above on pages 127-134.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., Cm, 122.

his capital Bankāpura. It is clear from this that in order to attack a place so close to the capital, as Hāṅgal is to Bankāpura, Jayakēśi must have previous to this date recovered the whole of the Palasige Twelve Thousand from Viṣṇuvardhana.

Jayakēśi, it is obvious from what we have said above, was as much of an aggressor as his adversary the Hoysaḷa King Viṣṇuvardhana. He attacked even the Hāṅgal Five Hundred of his relatives of the Kadambas of Hāṅgal, as is evident from the above-mentioned inscription, which includes this province in his kingdom<sup>1</sup>. In all probability, after the death of Vikramāditya, his father-in-law, he once more made himself practically independent of the Chalukyas. Hence when Sōmēśvara III deputed his faithful feudatory the Sinda chieftain Pērmāḍi I, the latter was also instructed to proceed against Jayakēśi and bring him back to allegiance to the Chalukya power. The Naregal inscription of Pērmāḍi I claims that he 'vanquished Kuḷaśēkarankara, gloriously besieged Chaṭṭa and took his head, and with a sword (to behead him), alarmed, and pursued Jayakēśi, seized upon the royal power of Poysaḷa who was foremost of the fierce rulers of the earth, and acquired the reputation of being himself proof against all reverses'<sup>2</sup>. The King Jayakēśi mentioned in this inscription is no other than Jayakēśi II, the Kadamba king of Goa, as he was the contemporary of Pērmāḍi I.

It has already been noted how the Kadamba sovereigns successively broke the power of the Śilāhāras of Northern Koṅkaṇ and how at length they succeeded in adding their territory to their kingdom. The last attempt for re-establishing their power was made in the days of the Śilāhāra King Anantapāla. But this attempt, though it succeeded for a time, finally resulted in the complete subjugation of the King of Kāpardika-dvīpa by Vijayāditya. However after a long period of obscurity, the fallen fortunes of the Śilāhāra family of Northern Koṅkaṇ were revived by one of their later representatives named Mallikārjuna<sup>3</sup>. It is possible that the latter took advantage of the Hoysaḷa-Kadamba war and reconquered the Śilāhāra territory. It is also likely that in re-establishing the Śilāhāra sovereignty in northern Koṅkaṇ, he receiv-

<sup>1</sup> E. I., XIII, p. 323.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Old Canarese and Sanscrit Inscriptions Relating to the Sindavamsa Chieftains*, J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, p. 244.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 544.

ed important help from his kinsman King Vijayāditya of the Karād branch. For the gap of about half a century in the otherwise unbroken genealogy of the Śilāhāra dynasty and the significant remark in one of the records of Vijayāditya that he reinstated in their territory the fallen lords of the province of Sthanaka (Thana)<sup>1</sup>, make us believe that the former was largely instrumental in restoring to Mallikārjuna the kingdom of his ancestors.

The record of Vijayāditya above referred to also states that he established at Goa some kings whose power had been destroyed<sup>2</sup>. The meaning of this passage is rather obscure. Nevertheless it is not unreasonable to suppose that Vijayāditya probably effected an amicable settlement between his relation Mallikārjuna and the Kadamba King Jayakēśi, whereby the former was given the sovereignty over Northern Koṅkaṇ, and the latter confirmed in his rule over the rest of the country; and thus putting an end to further troubles, he paved the way to amity and peace between the two ruling dynasties of the Koṅkaṇ<sup>3</sup>.

Jayakēśi II died about 1147-48, for in that year he was succeeded by his eldest son Pērmādi<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> MSS. Nos. 4 and 5, *Major Graham's Report, Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, III, p. 415.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 172.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, *Inscriptions relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa, J.B.B.R.A.S.*, IX, pp. 284, 301-303.

## CHAPTER VIII

### Sivachitta and Vishnuchitta

Jayakēśi II had by his wife Mailāḷa-dēvi two sons, Pērmāḍi-dēva and Vijayāditya<sup>1</sup>. The former, who was also known as Permārḍi-dēva, Permāḍi and Perma, assumed, possibly on his accession to the throne, the title of Śivachitta. For according to an inscription of Jayakēśi III, his nephew, Pērmāḍi-dēva, "afterwards assumed the title of Śivachitta"<sup>2</sup>. His predilection for this designation can perhaps be accounted for by the fact that Pērmāḍi-dēva was a devotee of Śiva<sup>3</sup>. Vijayāditya on the other hand was a votary of Viṣṇu and accordingly called himself Viṣṇuchitta. These records inform us that Vijayāditya had also some academic titles such as Vaṇībhūṣaṇa or Sarasvatībhūṣaṇa. We are told that he won these titles after "having gained the favour of the lord of Gōkaṇṇa"<sup>4</sup>.

Pērmāḍi-dēva succeeded to his father's kingdom in the year A.D. 1147-48. The Kadamba inscriptions of this period show that Vijayāditya was shortly afterwards associated with him in the government of his dominions. The earliest of them is the Sidhāpur grant of Vijayāditya which is dated A.D. 1158. It mentions Vijayāditya as *Yuvarāja* and says that in the vicinity of a place called Sampagādi, the two were ruling the Palasige Twelve Thousand and the Koṅkaṇ Nine Hundred. From the title of *Yuvarāja*, applied to Vijayāditya, we may deduce that he was ruling at Palasige as the viceroy; while Pērmāḍi resided at

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Inscriptions relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa*, J.B.B.R.A.S., IX, p. 273, 283.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *On Some Sanskrit copper-plates found in the Belgaum Collectorate*, J.B.B.R.A.S., IX, p. 245.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 284.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 245.

their principal capital Goa<sup>1</sup>. The second part of the Halsi inscription also mentions Vijayāditya as reigning conjointly with his brother, and the fact that Kaliyuga Samvat 4272 is cited as the twenty-fifth year of Vijayāditya's reign is in perfect agreement with the initial year of the rule of Pērmāḍi<sup>2</sup>.

Pērmāḍi-dēva married Kamalā-dēvi, the daughter of Kāma-dēva and Chaṭṭāla-dēvi. In one of the Degamve grants of Pērmāḍi-dēva Kamalā-dēvi is said to be of the Sōmavamśa or the lunar race<sup>3</sup>; while in another Kāma-dēva is represented as belonging to Sūrya vamśa or 'the celebrated race of the Sun'<sup>4</sup>. This Kāma-dēva who cannot, on chronological grounds, be identified with either the Kāma-dēva of Uchhangī, or the one of Hāngal, or that of Gōkarna, seems to have belonged to a family about which, due to paucity of material, nothing can be made out at present. However the same Kadamba inscriptions give us the name of his wife Chaṭṭāla-dēvi, who was a princess "born of a king of the race of the moon"<sup>5</sup>; and one of them states that she belonged to the Pāṇḍya family<sup>6</sup>. This Pāṇḍya branch was no doubt the one that had for its capital the historic city of Uchhangī. The Pāṇḍya monarch who became the father-in-law of Kāma-dēva was possibly the great Rāya-Pāṇḍya, whose rule seems to have ended about the middle of the twelfth century<sup>7</sup>.

Kamalā-dēvi, the wife of Pērmāḍi, is described as the "chief queen among his wives, the centre of his love, the object of his respect, as Rohiṇī alone is more cherished by the moon than other stars"<sup>8</sup>. She was generous to a fault and "her desire to grant equalled the wishes of supplicants"<sup>9</sup>. She was responsible for the diffusion of learning among her subjects. It was for this reason that she with her husband established a number of *agrahāras* or seats of learning in many parts of the kingdom. In these *agrahā-*

<sup>1</sup> Pathak, *A Kadamba Inscription at Sidhapur, I.A.*, XI, p. 274.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Inscription relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa, J.B.B.R.A.S.*, IX, p. 285.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 274.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 295.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 274.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 150.

<sup>8</sup> Fleet, *Inscriptions relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa, J.B.B.R.A.S.*, IX, p. 274.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

ras a variety of subjects such as the Vēdas, Vedāngas, Nyāya, Mīmāṃsa, Sāṅkhya, Yōga, Vedānta, Smṛiti, Itihāsas, and Purāṇas were taught besides the best systems of astronomy<sup>1</sup>. The property of the *agrahāra* was divided into shares, the income from which was utilised for different purposes<sup>2</sup>.

Kamalā-dēvi was also responsible for the erection of not a few temples in the kingdom. We have it on record that she built the small temple decorated with elegant carvings in honour of the god Śrī-Kamalānarāyaṇa and the goddess Śrī Mahālakshmi at Degamve. It was constructed by Tippōja, the *Sūtradhāri* or mason of the god Bankēśvarā-dēva and the son of the *Sūtradhāri* Holoja of Hūvinabāge, which Dr. Fleet supposes to be the present Raybāg in the Kolhapur State, and by Tippōja's son Bāgoja<sup>3</sup>.

The records describe Permāḍi-dēva as a monarch of outstanding ability. "Mankind knew him", says the Halsi grant, "as the abode of learning, lustre, prudence, and sportiveness, of benevolence and of profundity, of highmindedness, of valour and of king-ly fortune, of bravery and of spotless fame, above all others the husband of the lovely woman Delicacy"<sup>4</sup>. Another inscription calls him "a very Meru among the kings descended from Triḷochanākādamba"<sup>5</sup>, which may be taken to imply that he was by no means inferior to the other kings of the same line who preceded him. In fact one of the inscriptions of his nephew Jayakēśi III by way of summarising his achievements remarks that "he was beautiful on account of the dancing creeper of his fame in all the ten quarters"; that he "was famous for his valour"; that he "was like the black cobra to the proud inimical kings", and that he "was worshipped by water of rays proceeding from jewels set in the crown of kings"<sup>6</sup>. That there is little exaggeration in this account is obvious from the fact that the Kadambas still counted among their territories that of Vēlūgrāme Seventy which they had seized from the Sindas in the previous reign, doubtless in spite of the efforts of the latter to recover this province. This might perhaps explain the title of Malavara-māri, "the slayer of the Malavas or people

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., 275.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 276-77.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 295.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 283.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 295.

<sup>6</sup> Appendix, III, No. 6.



12. Orlim Panel and Inscription of Jayakēsi II.  
Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.



13. Goa Velha. Kuzmorayachem Tolem.



14. Hāngai. Tarakēśvara Temple.

of the ghaut country" <sup>1</sup>, assumed by Pērmāḍi-dēva, which probably refers to the subjugated province of the Vēḷugrāme Seventy. Finally the Gulhalli grant describes Pērmāḍi-dēva as 'the lord of the western ocean' <sup>2</sup>, which is a clear evidence of the fact that the Kadambas of Goa had still retained their naval supremacy.

Pērmāḍi-dēva was a feudatory of the Chalukyas and remained faithful to them till their downfall in A. D. 1156. One of the inscriptions speaks of him as "the great maṇḍalēśwara who has attained the five great śabdas" <sup>3</sup>. It is possible that as he was partly a contemporary of the Chalukya King Taila III, he was the latter's vassal. His own records of this period assign to him the government of the Koṅkaṇa Nine Thousand, Palasige Twelve Thousand and Vēḷugrāme Seventy. On the overthrow of the Chalukya dynasty however, Pērmāḍi proclaimed his independence and styled himself *Koṅkaṇa Chakravartī* or the Emperor of the Koṅkaṇ. To all appearances no immediate steps were taken by the Kaḷachuryas, the successors of the Chalukyas, to impose their suzerainty on the Goa Kadambas. This was because the Kaḷachuryas were engaged in the first period of their hegemony in subjugating the Śāntaras and the Kadambas of Hāṅgal and later in a deadly conflict for supremacy with the Hoysaḷas. In 1181 however peace was concluded between the two rival powers <sup>4</sup>, and the Kaḷachuryas thereupon turned their attention to the Kadambas of Goa. It seems likely that Pērmāḍi-dēva had died about this time, probably without issue, leaving his kingdom to his brother Viśṇuchitta or Vijayāditya <sup>5</sup>. We are informed by a Kaḷachurya inscription of 1181 that King Āhavamalla deputed Daṇḍanāyaka Chandugi-dēva to subdue the Goa Kadambas, and that this general burnt the territories of the brave Vijayāditya <sup>6</sup>, who was no other than King Viśṇuchitta of Goa. But it is not known for certain whether the latter acknowledged the supremacy of the Kaḷachuryas. In all

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 300.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 569.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet, *Inscriptions relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa*, J.B.B.R.A.S., IX, p. 300. Mahasabdas are the five great musical instruments sounded in honour of a king.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. ante, p. 142.

<sup>6</sup> The reason for this is that the inscriptions of this period, unlike the earlier ones, speak of Vijayaditya alone without mentioning the name of Permadi-deva.

<sup>7</sup> Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 117.

likelihood he did not, as this expedition was a raid rather than a military campaign. Moreover the Hoysaḷas renewed their struggle this year and the Kaḷachuryas were in consequence compelled to stop operations against the Goa Kadambas.

Though Viṣṇuchitta was so far successful in maintaining his independence, he completely failed when he was faced by a formidable enemy like the Hoysaḷa Vīra Ballāḷa II. With the defeat of the Kaḷachuryas by the Hoysaḷas the Goa Kadambas became the vassals of the latter. A Hoysaḷa epigraph of this period expressly states that Vīra Ballāḷa levied tribute from the Goa Kadamba King Vijayāditya<sup>1</sup>.

Vijayāditya continued to be a feudatory of the Hoysaḷas for some time, when during the struggle for supremacy between them and the Yādavas, the Hāṅgaḷ Kadamba King Kāma-dēva marched against the Koṅkaṇ and compelled Vijayāditya to transfer his allegiance to him. That the Goa Kadambas did acknowledge the supremacy of the Hāṅgaḷ branch is evident from the inscriptions of both the dynasties<sup>2</sup>.

The inscriptions disclose the names of two of his queens: Lakshmi-dēvi, the daughter of a certain Lakshmi-dēva<sup>3</sup>, and Paṭamahā-dēvi, the mother of his son Jayakēśi<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> *Carn. Desa Inscriptions*, II, p. 605, referred to by Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 565; Appendix, III, No. 6. Cf. ante, p. 147.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 559.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, *On Some Sanskrit Copper-plates found in the Belgaum Collectorate*, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, IX, pp. 45-46.

## CHAPTER IX

### Jayakesi III

Jayakēśi III, the son of Vijayāditya and of his queen Pattamahā-dēvi, succeeded to the throne in about A. D. 1187-88.

We have already seen that Kāma-dēva, the Hāṅgal Kadamba King imposed his overlordship over the Goa Kadambas towards the end of Vijayāditya's reign. This overlordship could not have been anything but nominal in character, having regard to the unsettled nature of the country at the close of the 12th century. Hence immediately on his accession to the throne Jayakēśi declared himself independent of the Hāṅgal Kadamba sovereign, as is shown by the titles assumed by him, all of which are calculated to show greater power than is ordinarily wielded by the mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras. In his Kittur inscription for instance, Jayakēśi bears the rare appellation of *Mahāmahēśvara* or the great King and again the *Rāyalalūta* or the first among Kings<sup>1</sup>. One of the Mānguṇḍi records calls him the *Koṅkaṇa-Chakravartī* or the Emperor of the Koṅkaṇ<sup>2</sup>. His inscription in the Bombay Museum is perhaps the only record which represents him with the old title of the Kadambas, namely mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, which, may be taken as a merely conventional form<sup>3</sup>.

The inscriptions of Jayakēśi that have come down to us do not afford much historical information about this sovereign. Nevertheless we know from the Goa copper-plate charter of his grandson Shashtha-dēva III that he married one Mahā-dēvi and had by her a son called Tribhuvanamalla<sup>4</sup>. No materials are available to find out the lineal descent of this Queen.

Jayakēśi III is described as a fairly successful ruler. The Mānguṇḍi inscription, mentioned above, speaks of his brilliant

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 304, 307.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix, III, No. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix, III, No. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*, I.A., XIV, p. 288. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 572.

## CHAPTER X

### Tribhuvanamalla

The next Kadamba ruler was Tribhuvanamalla<sup>1</sup>. The name Tribhuvanamalla given to this King in the Goa charter of his son Shashtha-dēva, appears to be a title of dignity rather than a name; for a coin published by Elliot bearing the name "Sova-dēva" seems to belong to this king<sup>2</sup>. The cyclic year of this coin is Bahudhānya, corresponding to 1218-19 A. D. which probably falls within the reign of Tribhuvanamalla. That this is the probable year of the coin and not 1158-59 or 1278-79 is clear from the fact that the inscription on the reverse of the same coin mentions Shashtha and Sova-dēva<sup>3</sup>. This would show that Sova-dēva and Shashtha were perhaps jointly ruling the kingdom. Consequently the year Bahudhānya of the coin must be a year not far removed from the reign of Shashtha himself. Hence the probable name of Tribhuvanamalla seems to be Sova-dēva.

There are no records of this monarch and the little information we have of him is obtained from the above Goa copper-plate grant of his son Shashtha-dēva III. This record tells us that his wife was called Manika-dēvi, and a daughter of his was married to Kāma-dēva, son of Lakshmi-dēva<sup>4</sup>.

If one could infer anything from the proud title of Tribhuvanamalla, it would seem that he maintained the independence of the kingdom intact for a long time and even enhanced its glory. The prevailing confusion in the Dekkan during this period, consequent on the constant wars between the Hoysaṣas and the Yādavas and their inability to subdue the recalcitrant tributaries, no

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*, I. A., XIV, p. 288, ff.

<sup>2</sup> Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, Pl. II, No. 68.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*, I. A., XIV, p. 288.

doubt afforded an advantageous opportunity for the maintenance of this independence. The country grew prosperous under his rule and that the title of 'the wrestler of the three worlds' which he assumed was no empty boast is shown by the Yādava inscription at Hasalapalli which says that the "Kadambas were glorious in the Koṅkaṇas" <sup>1</sup>.

Towards the end of his reign however, Tribhuvanamalla suffered an irretrievable defeat at the hands of the Yādavas. The contest for supremacy that had been carried on for over half a century in the Dekkan was at last decided in favour of the Yādavas, and Singhaṇa II forthwith started on his campaign to impose his suzerainty on the neighbouring rulers. The same inscription tells us that Vichana, the viceroy of Singhaṇa II, of the southern part of his kingdom who had already subdued the Raṭṭas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Hoysaḷas and other kings, also conquered the Kadambas <sup>2</sup>. It is probable that Tribhuvanamalla put up a stout resistance and he was perhaps slain in the battle. With his death the power of the Kadambas seems to have been entirely crippled and the dynasty dispossessed of its kingdom. For we see that the battle took place before the year 1237-38, which is the date of the inscription, and Shashtha-dēva III ascended the throne in A. D. 1246-47, helped by his brother-in-law Kāma-dēva. This would show that after the disastrous defeat of Tribhuvanamalla by Vichana, the Kadamba prince was rendered homeless, and it took not less than ten years for him and Kāma-dēva to reconquer the territories captured by the Yādavas.

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<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *A Copper-plate Grant of the Devagiri Yadava King Singhana II*, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XV, p. 384.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

## CHAPTER XI

### Shashtha-deva III

**S**hashtha-dēva who was also known as Śivachittā-Chattaya-dēva, was the son of King Tribhuvanamalla. We have two records of the time of this ruler; one is a copper-plate charter from Goa which, giving a date corresponding to A. D. 1250-51 as his fifth year, fixes the Parābhava Saṁvatsara, Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 4348 current, corresponding to A. D. 1246-47, as his first regnal year <sup>1</sup>. The other is a stone inscription at Buradasingi in Hubli Taluqua from which we gather that in spite of his feudatory title, he was ruling as an independent king <sup>2</sup>.

It has already been noted that it needed an extraordinary effort on the part of Shashtha-dēva to succeed to the throne of his ancestors. In this task he was considerably helped by his brother-in-law Kāma-dēva who also figures as King Kāma and Kāvāṇa in the body of the Goa grant <sup>3</sup>. Now who was this Kāma-dēva? The record tells us merely that he was the son of Lakshmi-dēva, but does not give the name of the dynasty to which he belonged. However the mention of his father, makes one suppose that the latter was alive when the grant was made.

While studying the history of the Dekkan we come across three persons bearing the name of Lakshmi-dēva. The first is the father of Lakshmi-dēvi, the wife of Vijayāditya, the Kadamba King of Goa. The second is the Raṭṭa chieftain Lakshmi-dēva who ruled during the early years of the thirteenth century <sup>4</sup>. The third person to be called after this name was Lakshmi-dēva II the Raṭṭa mahā-

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<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*, I. A., XIV, p. 288. Cf. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 572.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 572.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*, I. A., XIV, p. 288.

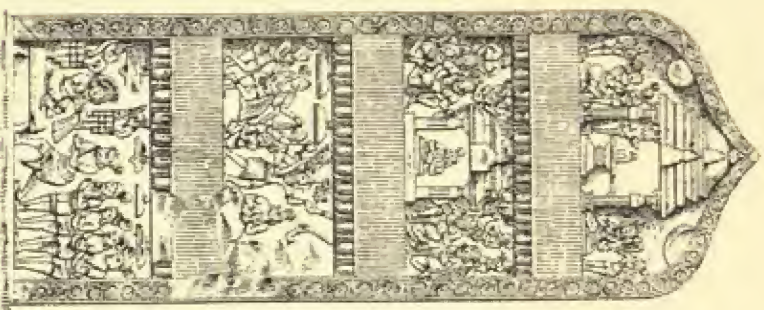
<sup>4</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties* p. 556.



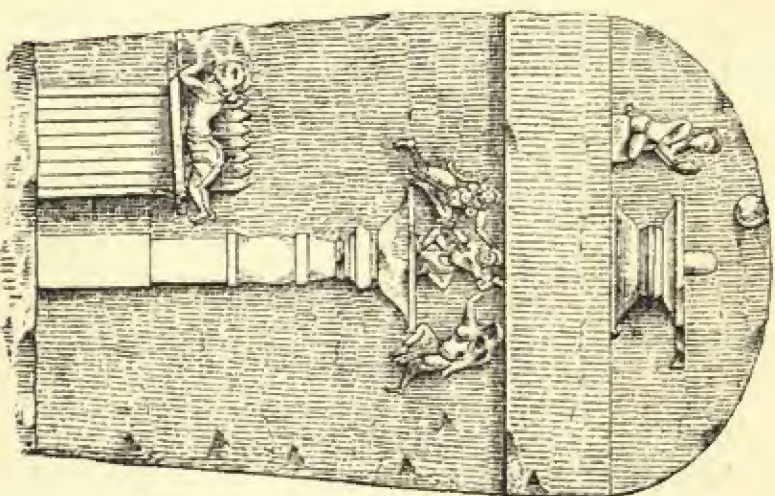
15. Hāṅgal. Viragal of Kāma-dēva.



16. Dēvagiri Mastikal.



17. Bandalike, Viragal of  
Lachhala-devi.



18. Belegāmi, Śūla Brahma  
Stone.

From *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. VII.

By kind permission of the Director of Archaeological Researches, Mysore.

maṇḍalēśvara whose date is S. S. 1151 the Sarvadhāri Saṁvat-sara, or A. D. 1228<sup>1</sup>. Kāma-dēva who married the sister of the Goa Kadamba King Shashthā-dēva was possibly the son of this chief. It was at the time of Lakshmi-dēva II that the Raṭṭas were reduced by the Yādava *Daṇḍanāyaka* Vichāṇa<sup>2</sup>. We may presume that on the death of Singhāṇa in 1245, Lakshmi-dēva, took advantage of the change of rulers and reasserted his independence. Having thus retrieved their losses, the Raṭṭas perhaps helped their relatives of Goa in recovering their lost territories. This is probably what the inscription means when it describes Kāma-dēva as the establisher of Shashthā.

The successors of Singhāṇa however, soon reasserted their authority and crippled the power of the rebels who had renounced the Yādava supremacy. But it is doubtful whether these feudatories were deprived of their kingdoms. One thing is certain however, that the administration of these provinces was thoroughly overhauled, and Yādava officers were appointed who were charged with the collection of the imperial dues and the supervision of the activities of the feudatories. It was thus that the Kadambas were reduced from the position of semi-independent chiefs to that of ordinary mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras. Among these Yādava officials appointed at this time, the records mention mahāpradhāna Achyutanāyaka, governing the Sasati District, *i. e.* Salsette in the Koṅkan, in 1272; and a certain Kṛishṇa-dēva, governing the whole of the Koṅkan in A. D. 1289<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Ratta Chieftains of Saundatti*, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, X, p. 260.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *A Copper-plate Grant of the Devagiri Yadava King Singhana II*, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XV, p. 384.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 529-530.

## CHAPTER XII

### Kama-deva

**W**e have no authentic epigraphic information about the extent of the rule of Shashtha-dēva. The second and last inscription of his, referred to above, is dated A. D. 1257. The fact that there are no more inscriptions of this ruler would perhaps suggest that he died soon after issuing this grant, probably in A.D. 1260, or thereabout, and as he left no issue, the kingdom passed to his brother-in-law Kāma-dēva. The copper plate inscription from which this information is derived gives Kāma-dēva, who is there styled Camapoto, a date which according to Senhor Miguel Vicente d'Abreu corresponds to A. D. 1243<sup>1</sup>. But the fact that Shashtha-dēva ascended the throne in 1246-47 proves that this date is wrong, and hence the correct date of Kāma-dēva's accession should be placed in A.D. 1260.

It was in the reign of Kāma-dēva that the Yādavas would seem to have relinquished their hold over the Koṅkan. As has already been related, their power was rudely shaken when in 1310 Dēvagiri, their capital was invaded by Mallik Kafur, the general of the Delhi Sultan Alla-ud-din<sup>2</sup>. And as was to be expected, with the withdrawal of the Yādava legions from the Dekkan the Goa Kadambas became practically independent.

After reducing the Yādavas, Mallik Kafur marched to the South and overran the whole of Goa. Ferishta tells us that on this occasion he penetrated as far as Rameswur on the sea-coast, *i. e.* Cabo de Rama, South of Goa, where he caused a mosque to be constructed and ordered prayers to be read out according to the Muham-

<sup>1</sup> Cottineau-d'Abreu, *Bosquejo Historico de Goa*, p. 11, note (a). Camapoto seems to be a corrupted form of Kamapati or Kama-deva.

<sup>2</sup> Ferishta-Briggs, I, pp. 304-310.

madan faith<sup>1</sup>. It will be seen from this that the expedition had disastrous effects on the Goa Kadamba kingdom, as Gōpaka-pattāga, the capital, was destroyed or at least occupied by the Muhammadan troops. We arrive at this conclusion from the fact that it was about this time that the Kadambas transferred their court to Chandrapura, the present Chandor.

If this invasion took place in the reign of Kāma-dēva, it seems certain that he could not have lived for a very long time after this event. For supposing that he was twenty-five years of age in the year 1248, when he helped his brother-in-law in recovering his dominions, he must have been an old man of eighty-seven or eighty-eight when this invasion took place.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., 373-374. Ramesvar here alluded to must be the point of that name in Canara, South of Goa, and not that at "Adam's Bridge" on the gulf of Manar. Ferishta-Briggs, I, p. 374.

## CHAPTER XIII

### The End of the Dynasty

The occupation of Goa by the Delhi Muhammadans was only temporary, as their object was plunder and not the permanent occupation of the country. Consequently on the return of the Muslims to Delhi, the defeated monarchs came back and took possession of their respective kingdoms without any opposition.

We are not in possession of any details to ascertain the name and the titles to the throne of the successor of Kāma-dēva. He may have been a son of his or a near relative. It would appear that it was with this prince that Ballāja-dēva III, the Hoysaṣa Emperor, concluded a defensive alliance against the Muhammadans<sup>1</sup>. Ferishta calls this prince the Rāja of Maabir, which term we have already explained as meaning the King of the west coast, and as there were no kings on the West so powerful as the Kadambas, the Rāja of Maabir was evidently the King of the Goa Kadambas. This is supported by the fact that the latter styled themselves "the Lords of the Western Ocean"<sup>2</sup>. Further we have already mentioned the opinion of Mr. Briggs that the Muhammadans of India in common with the Arabs called the west coast of Hindustan, Maabir or the landing place, from their making it the first place of disembarkation after their departure from Arabia<sup>3</sup>. From this we may conclude that in a narrower sense this term was probably applied to the coast of Kōṅkan, for the reason that there existed at this time considerable commercial intercourse between Goa and Arabia.

Just as Vīra-Ballāja III fortified the northern boundaries of his Empire and built the city of Vijayanagara, so the last Goa Ka-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ante, p. 160; Ferishta-Briggs, I, p. 427.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ante, p. 160; E. I., XII, p. 309; Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa*, J. B. B. R. A. S., IX, p. 300.

<sup>3</sup> Ferishta-Briggs, I, p. 373.

damba King seems to have transferred the capital of his kingdom from Goa, to the fortified city of Chandrapura or the present Chandor. This city, as we know, had been the early capital of the Dynasty<sup>1</sup>, and it was destined to witness the end of the same.

The conquest of Goa by the Muhammadans, subsequent to the Yādava victory over the Kadamba King was evidently the reason for the final transfer of the capital from Gōpakapaṭṭaṇa to Chandrapura. The selection of Chandrapura was undoubtedly due to the stronger geographical situation of the new capital separated from the main land by a broad river—the Zuarim. In fact the name of Gōpakapaṭṭaṇa does not appear any more in the history of Southern Kōṅkaṇ. And the first mention of Goa in later documents is found in Ferishta when the latter refers to the conquest of the country by the Bahamani Sultans. This city mentioned by the Muhamadan writer was the new capital of the Kōṅkaṇ, built on the Mandovi, which was to become famous after a century and a half under the Portugese domination. The *Comentarios do Grande Afonso de Albuquerque* written by his son make a slight reference to the remains of the old Hindu capital<sup>2</sup>. Towards the close of the last century some carved stones lying in a field near the main road going to Agaśi were said to be the jambs and lintel of the old Kadamba palace. But even these stones have now disappeared. There is however a tank not far from the above field which is traditionally known as *Kuzmorayachem tolem*, namely the tank of the Kadamba King. The neighbouring hill on the top of which the convent called Pilar is built appears to be the site of a temple in the ancient Kadamba days. At the foot of the hill within the compound of the convent there is a small well of laterite stone which was undoubtedly part of the old shrine. Within the same compound a middle sized decapitated stone Nandi was found<sup>3</sup>. This piece of sculpture is an evident sign of the fact that this was a Śaiva temple.

Not long after, Goa was again invaded by the Delhi Muhammadans. In 1327, immediately after his accession to the throne, Muhammad bin Tuglak sent a great army for the conquest of the Dekkan. We are informed by Ferishta that the Sultan completely

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ante pp. 168-169.

<sup>2</sup> *Comentarios do Grande Afonso de Albuquerque*, I, p. 339.

<sup>3</sup> This Nandi is now in the Museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

"subjugated the distant provinces of Dwar-Sumoodra, Maabir, Kampila, Wurangol, Luknowty, Chatgaun (Chitagong), and Soonargaun", and "the whole of the Carnatic, both in length and breadth, even to the shore of the sea of Ooman"<sup>1</sup>, i.e. the Arabian Sea. It follows from this that Muhammad bin Tuglak again conquered the kingdom of Maabir as far as the Arabian sea. It is probable that at the first invasion of Goa by Malik Kafur, the city of Chandrapura, not being then the capital of the kingdom, had been spared by the conquerors. But on this occasion it seems to have perished at the hands of the new Muhammadan invaders. As a matter of fact in the course of some excavations conducted in Chandor by the Rev. H. Heras and a batch of postgraduate research students of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, a copper coin of Muhammad bin Tuglak was found within the *garbhagriha* of an ancient Saiva temple, while removing the débris and mud which occupied the space. The party also came upon a badly mutilated granite Nandi, nearly six feet long, at a place not far off from its original position, in front of the temple. In the *garbhagriha* itself a stone image of Vaishnavi, one of the Saptamātrakas, was discovered, which appeared to have been purposely destroyed, the iconoclasts however leaving intact Vaishnavi and the left leg of Kumāri. The copper coin, mentioned above, was probably dropped by one of these soldiers of Muhammad bin Tuglak while engaged in the work of destroying the temple.

The Kadamba King would appear to have resisted the attack and was probably reckoned among the slain. Even supposing that he survived the invasion, it is extremely unlikely that he lived many years more. For when Kāma-dēva died at the ripe age of 88, in 1310-11, his son must have been already pretty old and so could not have lived till 1345, in which year we hear for the last time of the King of Chandrapura.

Ferishta relates that soon after the departure of Muhammad, "all these conquests...were wrested from him, and continued separate"<sup>2</sup>. Gulbarga which was among the Dekkanese states the closest to Delhi is known to have successfully revolted in 1347<sup>3</sup>. But the Hoysala Emperor and the Kadambas of Goa whose king-

<sup>1</sup> Ferishta-Briggs, I, p. 413.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 414.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gribble, *A History of the Deccan*, I, p. 22.

doms lay further south and south-west, probably did not hesitate so long, but proclaimed their independence as soon as the Sultan had crossed the Narbada. The chief who came forward to restore the faded glory of the Kadambas was probably the grandson of Kāma-dēva.

Though Goa was never more invaded by the Delhi Sultans the Kadambas were not left undisturbed for long. An enmity soon broke out between the reigning sovereign and one of his sons; and the latter, as Ibn Batuta tells us, wrote to the Nāwab Djemal-uddin (Jamal-ud-din) of Honavar inviting him to seize Sindabur, *i. e.* Chandrapura<sup>1</sup>, promising that he would embrace Islam and marry the Nawab's sister. Jamal-ud-din accordingly equipped a fleet of fifty-two vessels. On Ibn Batuta expressing his wish to join the expedition, he was made the commander of the fleet, under the personal supervision of Jamal-ud-din. Ibn Batuta gives us a graphic description of the storming of the citadel. On Monday late in the evening, he writes, they arrived at Sindabur and entered the gulf [of the river Zuairim]. They found the citizens prepared for the encounter and had already set up their mangonels. Having spent the night off the city, the Muhammadans advanced early at dawn against the citadel. The Hindus discharged stones against the vessels with the mangonels, one of which struck a man next to the Sultan. At this the Muhammadan soldiers plunged into the water, with shields and swords. To facilitate the riding of horses, two tartans had been opened in the rear, where the horses were kept in readiness so that each horseman could mount his horse, don his armour, and sally out without having to waste a single minute. Before long victory was decided in favour of the Muhammadans. The Hindus took shelter in the palace of the King, but the building being set fire to by the Muhammadans, the Hindus had to rush out, and were easily overpowered and made prisoners. The Sultan granted them quarters and restored to them their wives and children. The Hindu population which numbered about 10,000 souls were

<sup>1</sup> That Sindabur is the same as Chandrapura the name itself declares. Moreover the description of the gulf before reaching Sindabur as well as the time spent from Honavar to Sindabur, in the account of Ibn Batuta point to Chandrapura. Besides the Hindu King mentioned by the Arab traveller cannot be other than the Kadamba King, as there was no other Hindu King north of Honavar on the western coast. Fonseca, *Sketch of the City of Goa*, p. 124, identifies Sindabur or Sindapur with the city of Goa itself, without giving any reason to support his assertion.

assigned one of the suburbs of the city for their dwelling, while the Sultan took possession of the palace and allotted the neighbouring houses to his nobles <sup>1</sup>.

Ibn Batuta would have us believe that some time after, the Hindu King made an attempt to recapture the city; and on his advancing on the capital, the Muhammadan troops that had been quartered in the outlying villages, made good their escape, leaving the Sultan to the tender mercies of the besiegers. The Hindus invested the place for several days and reduced the Muhammadans to bitter straits. Ibn Batuta confesses that when the situation grew critical, he left the town during the siege and returned to Calicut <sup>2</sup>. Hence we have no written evidence as regards the result of this war. It may be that the city was eventually surrendered by the Muslims, or that the latter made a final attempt and inflicted severe losses on the Hindus. Whatever that may be, the account of the end of the Kadamba power handed down by tradition is as follows:—

The people of the city were happy and prosperous, when suddenly one night the city was invaded by the enemy who murdered the king and many of the inhabitants. The princesses and the ladies of the court destroyed their jewels and committed suicide by throwing themselves into the river, which, it is popularly believed, still leaves gold powder on the shore. The tradition associated with the fort is that the Queen, who was absent in some other part of the kingdom, visited the city one day, but found it in desolation and was given the sad news of her husband's demise. As a sign of her grief she removed her jewels, crushed them and threw them all over the place and cursed the women of Chandor, wishing them all to be like herself. She came out of the fortress, and stamping her feet four times, said that she would not take anything not even the dust of her feet from that city.

Thus ended the glorious dynasty of the Kadambas of Goa, which had held its sway undisputed over the Konkan for a period of well-nigh three centuries. The Kadambas of Goa were a family of the most successful sovereigns among the various offshoots of the famous Kadamba Kula.

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<sup>1</sup> Delremery-Sanguinetti, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, IV, pp. 106-108.

<sup>2</sup> Gibb, *Ibn Battuta*, p. 241.

PART VI

**Minor Kadamba Dynasties**



## CHAPTER I

### The Kadambas of Bayalnād

Among the various offshoots of the Kadamba family that emerged as rulers in the 11th century was the branch which established its sway over the Bayalnād. The Chōlas had just then subdued the Gangas of Talakāḍ and brought their dynasty to an end<sup>1</sup>. In the wake of the general commotion that followed the change of rulers, the Kadambas under their chief Raviyammaraśa seem to have formed for themselves an independent kingdom in Bayalnād. We are told in an inscription of one of these kings that they made the city of Kirttipura in the Punnād Ten Thousand their capital<sup>2</sup>. This province which lays claim to a well-known antiquity thus became the principality of the Kadambas<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 85.      <sup>2</sup> E. C., IV, Hg, 56.

<sup>3</sup> Pounnata is mentioned by Ptolemy in the 2nd century, where, he specially notes, beryl was found. It is also to be identified with the Pandinād or Hadinād, the Ten Nad Country of later times, which included Yelandur, and whose name survives in Hadinaru in Nanjangūd Taluqa. Moreover we are told in the *Brihatkathakosa* of Harisena that when Bhadrabahu, feeling his end was drawing near, sent on the Jaina emigrants under another leader, they went to the Punnata Viśhaya. This event took place in the third century. The inscriptions tell us that the Ganga King Avinita in the fifth century, married the daughter of the Punnata Raja named Skandavarmma, and that the former's son Durvinita annexed Punnad to the Ganga dominions. There is an undated inscription of one of the ancient rajas of Punnad or Pannata which gives the following genealogy of the kings:—

Rashtravarmma

|

Nagadatta

|

Bhujaga m. daughter of Singavarmma.

|

Punnata Raja Ravidatta

The Kadambas of Bayalnāḍ bore all the titles that usually accompany Kadamba rulers. Their peculiar title as distinguished from the various other epithets they bore, appears to be *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara rājādhirāja*<sup>1</sup>. This indicates that they were princes of the royal family, and the fact that no overlord is mentioned in their inscriptions implies that they were independent kings. This is easily explained, if we bear in mind that they held sovereignty only at the time when the ruling dynasties were overthrown by new kings, and while the latter were not in a position to put a stop to the confusion occasioned by the change of rulers. Other inscriptions attribute to them the lion seal (ಸಿಂಹಲಾಂಛನ)<sup>2</sup>, the monkey flag (ವಾನರಧ್ವಜ) and the bull signet (ವೃಷಭಲಾಂಛನ)<sup>3</sup>, the last of which was the dynastic symbol of the Pallavas.

It is interesting to note that one of their kings styles himself "the boon lord of Dvārāvātipura"<sup>4</sup>. There is little doubt that this city was the last capital of the Hoysaḷa Monarchs, known in history as Dvārasamudra or Dōrasamudra. This name was then a recent appellation that had, in our opinion, substituted the ancient name of that town, which was Tripurvata. We shall see in the next chapter, that the so-called Manjarabad Kadambas were styled "lords of Tripura", which has been identified with Tripurvata<sup>5</sup>. It is probable that the rulers of Bayalnāḍ by calling themselves the lords of Dvārāvātipura, meant to suggest the ancient city of Tripurvata showing thereby their connection with the early Kadamba Dynasty, one of whose branches had ruled at Tripurvata.

Among the Kadambas of Bayalnāḍ whose names are known to us, Raviyaminārāsa figures as the first ruler. He ruled towards the end of the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh.

The records represent Punnata Raja as making the grant from his victorious camp at Kitthipura. This was apparently the capital of the Punnata Rajas, and we may identify it with Kirtipura or Kirtur in the Heggadadevankote Taluqua which eventually became the capital of the Kadambas of Bayalnāḍ. The Punnata Ten Thousand province seems to have comprised all the country draining to the Kabbani or Kapini river. Cf. Rice, *E. C.*, IV, introd., p. 4.

<sup>1</sup> *E. C.*, IV, introd., pp. 3-5, and Hg, 56.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Hg, 75.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Ch, 18.

<sup>4</sup> *E. C.*, I, No. 56.

<sup>5</sup> For the identification of Tripura or Tripurvata with Halebid, cf. ante, p. 37.

The inscriptions do not explicitly state that he belonged to the Kadamba family. However the fact that he bears all the titles of the latter may lead us to conclude that he was probably a member of that dynasty. Some of the titles borne by this king are "rājā-dhirāja, entitled to the five drums, and having the monkey flag and the bull signet"<sup>1</sup>.

We do not hear of any of the successors of Raviyammaraśa for a period of seventy years. This long gap in their history is perhaps due to the fact that they were defeated and dispossessed of their kingdom by the Chōlas, who had just then begun their aggressive campaigns. It is possible that Rājarāja Chōla, when he reduced the Pāṇḍyas and Gangavāḍi<sup>2</sup>, also subjugated the Kadam-bas.

With the fall of the Chōlas however the Kadambas of Bayalnāḍ again appear as rulers of their old province. In 1079 we have an inscription that says:—

"An adulteress with black waving curls, an adulteress with full-moon face, an adulteress with endless side-glances, an adulteress with compressed lips, an adulteress with compressed slim body, (? was) this (storeyed) mansion,—the double Bayalnāḍ.

"While entitled to the five drums, the mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, a great lord of heroes, a Trinētra in war, sun among the hill chiefs, a lion of the Kadambas, a fire of destruction to ? Valli, in virtue a Rādhēya, mighty in energy, a fearless Rāma practising the science of politics, lover of gifts, united to justice, severe to the evil, favourite of his friends, his head at the feet of Viṣṇu, lord of Banavasi *viśaya*, devoted to Mahēśvara, the mahāmaṇḍalēśvara rājā-dhirāja, the ? nāḍiga of Bīra-Bayal-nāḍ, ?...Kandavamma, was ruling the Five Three Hundred of Bayal-nāḍ as one kingdom:—Bū-dapāḍi ? Pāṇḍya-nāyakā, . . . of Terumaṅgala, the Punnāḍ officer who was the Kikki-nāḍ officer, while carrying on their government,—(after the date) for the god Ravi-Yamēśvara of Kittūr, which was the royal residence, the immense great city Kīrttipura, made a grant in Kannevola for the ceremonies and illuminations, and giving the fixed revenue of Maḷchere, the rice heap of Kittūr . . . the rice heap of Maṭṭige, the rice heap of Kaḍale, the rice heap of Jayapura, the rice heap of Posavoḷalu, and the rice heap of Kaḍavala, with pouring of water at the feet of the god, gave the ? over-

<sup>1</sup> E. C., IV, Hg, 73; Ch, 18.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, pp. 48, 150.

sight to Ravinalla-Dēva and to Kilidākki-Gāuṇḍa together with the local rights, and set up this stone"<sup>1</sup>. This inscription of 1079 is important for the following reasons:—

1. It hints at the name of the Kadamba king that ruled over Bayalnāḍ in this year, viz. Kandavamma.
2. It mentions all the titles usually borne by the Kadambas, besides the special ones applied to the Kadambas of Bayalnāḍ.
3. It affords us a glimpse into the extent of his kingdom by stating that he was ruling the Five Three Hundred of Bayalnāḍ.
4. It tells us that the ancient city of Kīrttipura was the capital of the Kadambas of Bayalnāḍ.
5. It gives us the name of the officers in charge of the Five Three Hundred of Bayalnāḍ, with the names of each one of these divisions, which helps us considerably in gauging the extent of his dominions in Bayalnāḍ.
6. It mentions Ravi-Yamēśvara of Kittūr as the favourite deity of Kandavamma.

From the names of the different administrative units which were placed in charge of the various officers mentioned in the inscription, it is clear that Kandavamma ruled over a fairly extensive kingdom. It extended in the east as far as Budapāḍi which is probably to be identified with Budikote in the Betmaṅgaḷa Taluqua, Kolar District. In the north it included Kikki-nāḍ, with probably Kikere in the Mysore District for its capital; in the west it seems to have embraced part of Kēraḷa and in the south it stretched into the Tamil country, of which division Terumaṅgaḷa was the administrative headquarters.

The sudden emergence of the Kadambas as rulers of this vast kingdom in the south is not at all strange; for we know that this was the time when the rule of the Chōḷas suffered an eclipse in the south; and during the period of chaos that subsequently followed, the Kadamba chief Kandavamma gathered some of the scattered remnants of the old and fallen Chōḷa Empire, and brought them under his royal sceptre. It was probably in thanksgiving for the success he had attained and in order to bring upon himself further blessings of the god at Kittūr, that he granted to this god a share in the government revenues from Malchere, Kittūr, Maṭṭige, Kaḍale, Jayapura, Posavoḷalu, and Kannevoḷa.

<sup>1</sup> E. C., IV, Hg. 56.

The second inscription of Kandavamma, if it may at all be ascribed to this ruler, gives him a date falling in A. D. 1083<sup>1</sup>.

He was probably succeeded by Kanthirava who is placed by the epigraphists in A. D. 1090<sup>2</sup>. The inscriptions describe him as ruling Chāgi-Bayalnāḍ, which according to Mr. Rice, formed part of the Bayalnāḍ province<sup>3</sup>. The vast kingdom of Kandavamma was probably reduced in size at this period by the incessant encroachments of the Hoysala chiefs.

Iravi-Challamma seems to be the next Kadamba ruler of Bayalnāḍ. He is associated with the government of Bira-Bayalnāḍ, which was another part of the Bayalnāḍ province<sup>4</sup>. We are told that in 1108 a certain Harima, an officer of Baṅkiyarasa, who cannot be identified, besieged and attacked Posavoḷalu, in the dominions of Iravi-Challamma<sup>5</sup>.

The mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Mukkaṇṇa Kadamba was the last ruler of this line with whom history is acquainted<sup>6</sup>. The inscription that speaks of him is dated 1138 A. D.

Centuries after we hear of one Mahārājādhi-rāja Immaḍi-Kadamba-Rāya Voḍeya-ayya, who was probably a chieftain under the kings of the Saṅgama Dynasty of Vijayanagara. The inscription which mentions his name is dated in 1393 A. D., and avers that he gave to Dinapuri Chinnappa-raḍḍi a *Kāpu-mānya* (specified) under the Tirumaṇi tank<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *E. C.*, IV, Hg, 80. The inscription does not disclose the full name of this ruler.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Hg, 77, 75.

<sup>3</sup> *Cf. E. C.*, IV, *Introd.*, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Hg, 79.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Hg, 50.

<sup>7</sup> *E. C.*, X, Bg, 11.

## CHAPTER II

### The Kadambas of Belur

This was another branch of the Kadamba dynasty that profited by the decline of the power of the Gangas in the beginning of the 11th century<sup>1</sup>. Kadambarasa, who was the first King of this line<sup>2</sup>, seems to have availed himself of the weakness of the central government to establish an independent kingdom to the east of the Ganga dominions. He was very likely a descendant of the old Kadamba line of the Dakṣiṇāpatha, reference to which has already been made in the political history of the early Kings of the Kadamba dynasty<sup>3</sup>. Indeed the fact that the Belur Kadambas called themselves the boon-lords of Tripura<sup>4</sup>, confirms our opinion that they were closely related to this branch. It has already been noted that the capital of the Dakṣiṇa branch of the early Kadambas was the city of Tripurvata, which seems to be identical with Tripura, mentioned above. We have also remarked that Tripurvata was the modern Halebid<sup>5</sup>.

The Kadambas of Belur were in their turn the ancestors of the Rājās of Coorg. The *purāṇic* account of the foundation of the State and Monarchy of Coorg, given in the *Kāvēri-Māhātmya* connects it with a prince named Chandravarmma, the son of a King

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<sup>1</sup> This dynasty is generally known as the Dynasty of the Manjarabad Kadambas. Yet this name is a misnomer, for Manjarabad is a fort not far from Saklaspur founded by Tipu Sultan. Cf. Haya-vadana Rao, *Mysore Gazetteer*, V, p. 1022. The old Kadamba rulers of this province had their capital a little westwards at a place now called Hale-Belur, which still has some remains of the old grandeur. Accordingly the family must be styled the Kadambas of Belur.

<sup>2</sup> *E.C.*, V, Mj, 28.

<sup>3</sup> *Cl. ante*, pp. 37 et seq.

<sup>4</sup> *E.C.*, I, No. 56.

<sup>5</sup> *Cl. ante*, p. 38.

of the Matsya country, who was succeeded by his son Dēva-kānta. Now Matsya has been identified with Hāngal<sup>1</sup>, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that Chandravarmma was a Kadamba prince. He was probably a son of Krishṇavarmma II who after transferring his government to Banavasi, appointed Chandravarmma viceroy of the Dakṣiṇāpatha, of which Tripurvata was the capital. During the weak rule of Ajavarmma, this Chandravarmma probably freed himself of the control of the Banavasi ruler, and established hereditary succession at Tripura. That he is mentioned in the *Kāvēri-Māhātmya* as the son of the King of Hāngal may easily be explained by the fact that in the course of centuries that followed this event, the origin of the Kadambas from Banavasi was lost sight of, on account of the great political changes that deprived them for some time of their principality of Banavasi, and associated their rule with that of Hāngal. Hence the writer of the work, just referred to, connected Chandravarmma with the Kadambas of Hāngal, though they came to possess that province not before the middle of the 11th century<sup>2</sup>.

The Kadambas of Belur had the usual titles of the Kadambas. They were called mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras, the boon-lords of Banavasi-pura, and were entitled to the five drums<sup>3</sup>. One of their records gives them among other epithets that of 'lord of Tripura'<sup>4</sup>. They were worshippers of Śiva<sup>5</sup>, unlike the Kadambas of Hāngal, whose family god was Viṣṇu<sup>6</sup>; and their dynastic symbol seems to have been the peacock<sup>7</sup>.

We have said above that Kadambarasa was the first King of this line. We have no historical details about the reign of this King, except that he ruled about A. D. 1000<sup>8</sup>.

One of the successors of Kadambarasa, perhaps his immediate successor, was Nīti-mahārāja. The inscriptions that speak about this ruler do not tell us in what year he came to the throne. We know however the year of his death from an inscription of A. D. 1035, which says that "Nīti-mahārāja, . . . . performed *sannyasanam*

<sup>1</sup> Rice, *E.C.*, I, p. 2; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. XXXVIII.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ante, p. 105.

<sup>3</sup> *E. C.*, V, Mj, 18.

<sup>4</sup> *E. C.*, I, No. 56.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid; *E. C.*, V, Mj, 18.

<sup>6</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., X, p. 254.

<sup>7</sup> At the entrance of the village of Hale-Belur there is still a peacock carved on a boundary stone. <sup>8</sup> *E. C.*, V, Mj, 28.

and expired" <sup>1</sup>. Accordingly if we give him a rule of twenty-five years, we arrive at A. D. 1015, which might possibly be the first year of his reign.

It is not possible to gather much historical information from the other inscriptions of Nīti-mahārāja. A record of 1026 says that when Bīcha-Gauḍa died, Nīti-mahārāja granted one *paṇa* to be enjoyed by the women of the deceased in the Kadamba kingdom <sup>2</sup>. Another record of 1030 observes that Chāma, the son of Vāmaśiva-dēva, was the foundation pillar of the Kadamba kingdom <sup>3</sup>. This epithet would suggest that Chāma was probably the generalissimo of Nīti-mahārāja's forces, or at least one of the high officers of his kingdom.

It would appear from a *viragal* of 1034 that Nīti-mahārāja was in that year engaged in a war with his enemies. The hero who died in this fight was one Chikka-Kāṭayya, who is said to have conquered the army on all sides, and perished in the hour of victory <sup>4</sup>. But the record is silent as regards the name of the king against whom this hero fought and lost his life.

Chāgi-mahārāja or Chaginripāla was probably the successor of Nīti-mahārāja. This we conclude from the Hale-Belur inscription of Dayāsimha-nṛpa, the grandson of the former, which is dated 1095 A.D. <sup>5</sup>. There is another epigraph of the same year belonging to Dūdharasa <sup>6</sup>, the father of Dayāsimha, which records Dūdharasa's death. This leads us to the conviction that Dūdharasa died about A. D. 1095, whereupon in the same year his son ascended the throne and made the grant recorded in the Hale-Belur inscription. Having thus determined the date of Dūdharasa's death, we may next infer from this that he must have ascended the throne probably in A. D. 1070. Chaginripāla would then have a reign of thirty-five years, from A.D. 1035-1070, which would connect him with Nīti-mahārāja. No information, however is available in the records about this Chāginripāla. The inscription of his son gives him the name of Hitteyarasa, which was probably his proper name, and Chagi-mahārāja was his title. His wife was Junjala-dēvi <sup>7</sup>. It is not possible to determine the relationship

<sup>1</sup> E. C., V, Mj, 55.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Mj, 45.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., V, Mj, 18.

<sup>4</sup> E. C., I, No. 37.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., Mj, 53, 54.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., Mj, 50.

between this ruler and Nīti-mahārāja at the present stage of our investigations.

Dūdharasa was accordingly the next King of Belur. The inscription above referred to, gives him the style of "śrīman mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, chief lord of Tripura, sun to the lotus the Balindrakula, champion of the Four-faced (Brahmā), a cage of adamant to refugees, a lion to the elephant his enemies, a Bhīma of the powerful, a Rāma in war, a pleasure garden of the Malepas (or hill chiefs), praised by the eulogists, plunderer of foreign territory, his father's warrior, his head at the feet of Śiva, an ocean of truth, a saw to the heart of his enemies, and a Rakkasa in war with kings". The record of his son calls him a mahārāja, which together with the fact that no overlord is mentioned in his own inscription, would lead us to conclude that he ruled as an independent King. This is confirmed by a record of Chāmuṇḍa-rāja, the Chalukya Governor of Banavasi in 1047, in which the latter is called 'a grindstone to Dūdha' <sup>1</sup>. The date of this record certainly does not agree with the chronology we have adopted for Dūdharasa, but it might convey some of the efforts made by the Chalukyas in former days to subdue this house of the Belur Kadambas.

The inscriptions also hint at the extent of his territories and of his wealth. Thus we are told that he was ruling "Samathanāḍ, Pakuvadi and other places, having fifteen horses, fifty male servants, two hundred and fifty strong man, forty-five retainers of good family, and a retinue of many subjects, guards, relatives and landed proprietors" <sup>2</sup>.

The names of two of his wives are mentioned in the record: one was Chilkala-dēvi, called in the epigraph his 'lawful wife', at whose request he built a *chatram* for the Brahmans and brought some uncultivated land under cultivation <sup>3</sup>. The second was the mother of his three sons, Saṭthiga-nripa, Chāgi-mahārāja, and Dayasimha. She was the daughter of Banki-Balarita and Karavati Cheluveyarasi <sup>4</sup>.

On the death of Dūdharasa, his youngest son Dayasimha<sup>1</sup> ascended the throne of Belur. It is evident that he acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chalukyas; for the fact that he bore the title of Tribhuvanamalla<sup>2</sup>, which was the *biruda* of the Chal-

<sup>1</sup> E.C., VII, Sk, 151.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> E.C., I, No. 57; E.C., IX, Cg, 57.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1</sup> E.C., V, Mj, 18.

kya king Vikramāditya VI, indicates that he was a feudatory of the latter. It was customary in those days for the subordinate chiefs to assume the titles of their suzerain, perhaps as a mark of service rendered to him, as is evidenced from the appellation of the early Hoysaḷa chiefs, who were the tributaries of the Gangas<sup>1</sup>.

The record of 1095 gives him various epithets such as, "the mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, chief lord of Banavāsi-pura, in slaying his enemy Śrīpāla who had an immense army, a fierce and powerful archer like Pārthsa . . . , a sun to the Kadamba-kula, a bee at the lotus feet of the even-eyed god Mahādēva, . . . a critical examiner of poems and dramas, . . . a four-faced in proficiency in logic, grammar, painting, music, and many of the sixty-four arts"<sup>2</sup>.

It would appear from one of his titles that he opened hostilities against the Pāṇḍyas of the south and succeeded in slaying Śrīpāla, their King<sup>3</sup>. For this King was apparently no other than the Pāṇḍya Śrīpāllava, whose son Sīruvan is said to have been trampled to death about this period by Virarājēndra-Chōḷa<sup>4</sup>.

There is no further notice of the kings of Belur. Their territories were probably absorbed by the ever increasing kingdom of the Hoysaḷas under Vinayāditya.

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<sup>1</sup> Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> *E. C.*, V, Mj, 18.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 91.

## CHAPTER III

### The Kadambas of Bankapur

The Kadambas of Bankāpur were also a branch of the Kadamba Kula. They bore all the titles that are usually accorded to the kings of this family. To cite an instance, one of these kings is described as a "*mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* who possessed the five *mahāśabdas*, lord of Banavāsi best of cities, ornament of the lineage of the great monarch Mayūrarman, the Kadamba Emperor which is sprung from the three-eyed (Śiva) and Earth, presides over eighty-four cities, is consecrated in eighteen world-renowned horse-sacrifices of Śiva and Viṣṇu, binds its fiery elephants to crystal pillars established by its might on the massive summits of the royal mountains of Himālaya, and is charming in its great majesty"<sup>1</sup>. They also seem to have had the *siṃha-lāṃchchana*, the crest (of) the lion exalted in pride<sup>2</sup>, and carried the *Śākhā-charēṃdra-dhvaja*, or the banner of Hanumant, the lord of apes<sup>3</sup>. Finally they were heralded in public by the sounds of the musical instrument called the *permatti*<sup>4</sup>.

The hereditary titles of these rulers, as may be seen from the above passage, are in perfect agreement with those of the Kadambas of Hāṅgal, from which we infer that they belonged to the latter family. At the same time a careful study of their records reveals that they were not in possession of any hereditary territory, but were merely acting as governors of the Banavasi and the Hānungal provinces. Thus Harikēsari, one of the kings of this dynasty, is spoken of as ruling the Banavasi Twelve Thousand under Chalukya Ganga Pērmmanāḍi-Vikramāditya-dēva, who was then the viceroy of the Gaṅgavāḍi Ninety-six Thousand,

<sup>1</sup> E. I., XIII, p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

and the Banavasi Twelve Thousand<sup>1</sup>, and not immediately under the Chalukya Emperor; which is a clear indication of the fact that he was their governor.

Two representatives of this family are known to us through the epigraphical records of the middle of the 11th century. Satyāśrāya, who is mentioned in the Baṅkāpur Inscription of Harikēśari above referred to, was probably the elder brother of the latter. For the record besides mentioning the name of Satyāśrāya, calls Harikēśari "the lion for his elder brother"<sup>2</sup>. Satyāśrāya was probably in charge of a province which had Kāṇanūr for its capital<sup>3</sup>. This province very likely included the district of Hāṅgal. For the inscription mentions the visit of Ballavarasa to Hāṅgal when Kadamba Satyāśrāya-dēva was ruling Kāṇanūr<sup>4</sup>. That he was also an administrative official of the Chalukyas is evidenced from the fact that he is said to have been governing the province under the same prince Chalukya Gaṅga Pērmmanāḍi-Vikramāditya-dēva<sup>5</sup>.

Harikēśari, as has already been noted, was administering the Banavasi Twelve Thousand. There are two records of this Kadamba governor. One of these, an inscription from Miragal, records a grant made by him to the god Kali of that place. It says: "Having sent a summoner to the Three Hundred mahājanas of the Agrahāra of Nīrili, convened them and laved their feet, made over with pouring of water the house-tax to the Great Tank, and a garden of six-hundred trees and a field of one *mattar* to the god Kali"<sup>6</sup>. The second inscription records a donation which he and his wife Lachchala-dēvi made in conjunction with representatives of the five *maṭhas* of Baṅkāpur and sixteen burgesses of that town, on the petition of the cloth-merchant Kēṭiseṭṭi, to the god Kadambēśvara, the tutelary deity of the Kadamba race. The grant consisted of the Paḷlavūra village on *taḷa-vṛtti* tenure together with the remittance of the usual taxes<sup>7</sup>. The epigraph further mentions that king Satyāśrāya granted all the taxes under his own control.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 173.

<sup>2</sup> E. I., XIII, p. 175.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 152.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 152.

<sup>6</sup> E. I., XVI, p. 68.

<sup>7</sup> E. I., XIII, p. 175.

It appears from the above records that Satyāśrāya and Harikēsari governed the Banavasi and the Hānugal provinces conjointly. The reason for this conjecture is that Harikēsari, who is described as the governor of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand in his Baṅkāpur record, is reported to have granted in the same inscription the village of Paṭṭavūra, which formed part of the Nidugundage Twelve, a *kampāna* of the Pānugal Five-hundred<sup>1</sup>. In the same manner Satyāśrāya, who according to his own inscription, was governing a province which included the Hāngal Five Hundred, is represented in that inscription as making a donation to a temple in the Banavasi Twelve Thousand<sup>2</sup>.

There is an epigraph of A.D. 1067 belonging to the Hāngal Kadamba King Tōyima-dēva, where he is accorded among other epithets, the title of 'Lion of Hariga'<sup>3</sup>. This seems to indicate the services rendered by him to his kinsman the Kadamba Hariga or Harikēsari of Baṅkāpura, who was, as we have seen, the Chalukya governor at this time of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand.

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<sup>1</sup> *E.I.*, XIII, p. 175.

<sup>2</sup> *E.C.*, VII, Sk, 152.

<sup>3</sup> *E.I.*, XVI, p. 86.

## CHAPTER IV

### The Kadambas of Uchchangi

The kings of this branch were also related to the main line of the Kadambas. Their genealogical connection may be deduced from the records of these rulers, which assert that they were born in the family of Mayūravarman, the Kadamba Chakri<sup>1</sup>. They styled themselves the lords of Banavasi, the best of towns (ಬನವಾಸಿಪುರನರಾಧೀಶ್ವರಂ)<sup>2</sup>. But it is evident that this was a mere title. For the fact that this city was under the Kadambas of Hāngal is a tangible proof that the Kadambas of Uchchangi possessed no hereditary right over this province. They had the lion crest of the Kadambas, and carried the monkey flag.

Ajavarmmarasa is the first King of this branch of the Kadamba dynasty known to us. None of his records state that he was a Kadamba, but Mr. Rice who has edited the inscriptions of these rulers, is of opinion that he probably belonged to this family<sup>3</sup>. His records do not furnish us with any historical information and consequently it is not possible to determine his place in the Kadamba genealogy. He is given dates corresponding with A.D. 987<sup>4</sup> and 1032<sup>5</sup>, and one of the records implies that he was a feudatory of the Chalukya King Jagadēkamalla (Taila II)<sup>6</sup>.

There is an inscription of A. D. 1049 which gives the name of Manneya Ghattiarasa of the Kadamba family. This inscription is found in the Hadagalli Taluqua in the Bellary District, a fact that might suggest that he belonged to the family of Uchchangi<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> E. C., XI, Dg, 32; Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Mk, 41; Rice, l. c.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., XI, introd., p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Mk, 40, 42.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., Mk, 26.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., Dg, 32.

<sup>7</sup> 456 of 1914.

In 1110 we come across another Kadamba King of this place named Bañcharasa-dēva, who is mentioned with all the Kadamba titles. The inscription begins: "Be it well. When, entitled to the five big drums, the mahā-maṇḍalēśvara, boon lord of Banavāsi-pura, ... (performer of) eighteen horse-sacrifices, worshipper of the holy feet of the god Lunkēśvara,—with these and all other titles, the mahā-maṇḍalēśvara, holding Mahēśvara supreme, Bañcharasa-dēva,—in the 20th year of Tribhuvanamalla Pērmāḍi-Rāya-Dēva's reign, the year Vikrama, etc., at the time of the eclipse of the sun, being in the fort of Luṅke, ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom"<sup>1</sup>.

It may be inferred from the above extract that the Kadambas of Uchchangi were worshippers of Śiva, like those of Goa and of Belur. The record also avers that they were at this time feudatories of the Chalukya King Tribhuvanamalla-Pērmāḍi, *i. e.* Vikramāditya VI. It is obvious that their capital was the city of Luṅke near Moḷakalmūru, what is now known as the Chitaldroog District, in the Mysore State.

After Bañcharasa there is a blank of 35 years in the history of the Kadambas of Uchchangi from 1110 to 1145. The family evidently fell on evil days with the conquest and annexation of their kingdom by the Pāṇḍyas. This happened probably in the reign of Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya of Uchchangi<sup>2</sup>, who lived at about the same period. This King claims to have brought the whole earth encompassed by the four oceans into subjection to King Vikrama<sup>3</sup>. Moreover we know that the great feudatory families in those days recognizing only a dubious and at times disputed suzerainty, often tried to subjugate the neighbouring rulers to themselves. It is therefore possible that before he started on his campaigns in the service of King Vikramāditya, Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya seized Uchchangi and annexed it to his dominions. But the Pāṇḍya power was also shaken when the Hoysalas under Vishṇuvardhana gathered strength and invaded their territories<sup>4</sup>. Consequently the Kadambas, who after their defeat by the Pāṇḍyas, would have at least figured as the dependents of the latter, completely lost their influence with the decline of the Pāṇḍya power.

<sup>1</sup> E. C., XI, Mk, 41.

<sup>2</sup> Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 150.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> E. C., VI, Cm, 99. The Pandyas were defeated by the Hoysalas in the battle of Dumme.

On the death of Vishṇuvardhana however the Pāṇdyas seem to have reconquered their dominions<sup>1</sup>. It is possible that with the resurgence of these rulers, the Kadambas of Uchchangi, who by this time must have also recovered their power, came to be recognised their feudatories. Thus we have the Kadamba chief Kētarasa, who is described in an inscription of 1171 as a dweller at the lotus feet of Vijaya Pāṇḍya Dēva, who, as it appears from the same inscription, had practically become independent of the Chalukyas.

About Kētarasa the inscription records as follows: — "May it be well. Kētarasa entitled to the five great drums, mahā-maṇḍalēśvara, lord of the city of *Banavāsi*, having a monkey flag and a lion signet, lover of the sound of Pērmāḍi's drums,.....born in the line of Mayūra Varmma, the *Kādamba chakri*, lord of Uchchangi, and obtainer of a boon from Śankara Nāyaṇa"<sup>2</sup>.

We have no more information regarding this King except that he married Kanakabbe-arasi, who bore him his son Nagati-nṛipāla. We are not made aware whether Hari-arasa, who is said to be the brother of the latter, was the son of the same lady. Neither is it possible to determine the exact year of his accession to the throne. Anyhow if we assume that 1171 was the first regnal year of Nagati-nṛipāla, and give a reign of 25 years to Kētarasa, we may say that the latter ascended the throne in A. D. 1146. This would mean that Kētarasa was appointed mahāmaṇḍalēśvara under the Pāṇdyas, as soon as they established their power, after the defeat and death of the Hoysala Vishṇuvardhana.

Kētarasa was succeeded by his son Nagati-nṛipāla. Two inscriptions of this ruler have come down to us, which assert that his younger brother, Hari-arasa was "a dazzling light to the swarms of grasshoppers the hostile kings"<sup>3</sup>.

We have no more information about this family. It is not improbable that the dynasty completely disappeared when the Pāṇdyas were again overthrown by the Hoysalas under their valiant King Vira-Ballāla II<sup>4</sup>. The inscriptions of Nagati-nṛipāla mentioned above, record the name of two of his sons, Kētarasa and Mācharasa<sup>5</sup>, but there is no indication in the records of their having assumed the reins of government at any time.

<sup>1</sup> Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 102. An early conquest of Ballala III, the grandson of Vishṇuvardhana, was that of Uchchangi.

<sup>2</sup> Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 53.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 102.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.; *E.C.*, XI, Dg, 32.

## CHAPTER V

### The Kadambas of Nagarkhanda

The Kadambas of Nāgarkhaṇḍa were another scion of the Kadamba dynasty. They claimed to be the descendents of Mayūravarmma, the progenitor of the Kadamba family<sup>1</sup>; and in order to show their genealogical connection with the early Kadambas they styled themselves 'the boon lords of Banavasi-pura'<sup>2</sup>. This was obviously a mere title, as they were never in continual possession of this city. Their capital was perhaps the city of Bāṇḍhavapura, since they claimed to be its boon lords<sup>3</sup>. Their personal title seems to be that of mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, and their family god was Śiva<sup>4</sup>.

Bammarasa was the first King of this branch. That he was related to the main line of the Kadambas is indicated by a lithic record of his grandson Sōyi-dēva, which asserts that he was born "in that fortunate race of Mayūravarmma"<sup>5</sup>. It appears from the same record that he was enjoying independent sovereignty; for he is described in the record as "the sole ruler of the world"<sup>6</sup>. His principality, we are informed, was the country round Bandaṇike<sup>7</sup>, which was probably the Nāgarkhaṇḍa Seventy<sup>8</sup>. This district is to the north-east of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand. One of the inscriptions speaks of it as a country surrounded with leafy woods like the ring round the eyes of a girl<sup>9</sup>. In another record it is said to be "noted for its betel vines, and the fruit of its areca palms and orange trees"<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 59; *E.C.*, VIII, Sb, 345.

<sup>2</sup> *E.C.*, VII, Sk, 197.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Sk, 277; *E. I.*, V, p. 236.

<sup>4</sup> *E.C.*, VIII, Sb, 346.

<sup>5</sup> Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 59.

<sup>6</sup> *E.C.*, VIII, Sb, 346.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Sb, 285.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *E.C.*, VII, Sk, 197.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, Sb, 389.

Bammarasa's wife was Kalala-dēvi whom the inscriptions describe as "an abode of learning" and "to her dependents a cow of plenty"<sup>1</sup>. The information that he was so possessed of the Kshatriya qualities, that he overcame all the Kshatriyas, is evidently of no historical value<sup>2</sup>.

Boppa-dēva was the son and successor of Bammarasa<sup>3</sup>. He was famed, says one of the above-mentioned inscriptions, "as in great bravery like Arjuna, in liberality like Karna, in purity like Bhishma"<sup>4</sup>. It was evidently in the reign of this King that the Nāgarkhaṇḍa Kadambas lost their independence. A record of Bopparasa refers to Tailapa II of the Hāṅgal Kadamba family as his overlord<sup>5</sup>.

As regards the chronology of this King, it is evident from the inscription that he was at least partly a contemporary of Tailapa, and the fact that the first mention of Bopparasa's son is in A. D. 1139<sup>6</sup> would show that Bopparasa survived his overlord. Accordingly, if we give him a reign of twenty-five years, he would have ruled from A. D. 1112 down to 1138.

Sōma-dēva or Sōyi-dēva was the son of Boppa-dēva by his wife Śrī-dēvi. In 1139 he was the officer in charge of the Nāgarkhaṇḍa Seventy under Madhukarasa of the Hāṅgal Kadambas<sup>7</sup>. But he seems to have soon freed himself of the control of his liege lords. This probably happened in the beginning of the reign of Kīrtti-dēva, for all the records that imply his independence are dated later than 1159. This was the period when the power of the Hāṅgal Kadambas had been considerably enfeebled by their wars first with the Hoysaḷas and later on with the Kaḷachuryas. This is clearly evidenced by an inscription of Sōyi-dēva which reads: "Since the Kadamba Taila, there has been no one worthy to protect the whole world; thus thinking, and distressed on this account, the husband of Śrī-dēvi, Bopparasa, with great devotion, worshipped the lotus feet of Sōmanātha to obtain the joy of a son"<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Rice, l. c. She is also known as Chattala-devi. *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 197.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 325.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Sb, 414.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 236.

Moreover, as has already been noted, during the first few years the Kadambas of Hāṅgal did not acknowledge the suzerainty of the Kaḷachuryas, which consequently led them into a war with the Kadambas<sup>1</sup>. It is not unlikely that the Kaḷachuryas coaxed Sōma-dēva and possibly helped him in declaring himself independent of his overlord. Accordingly we find Sōma-dēva in an inscription of 1159 as the immediate subordinate of the Kaḷachuryas. The inscription records: "...In his time was the king Bijjala, A dweller at his lotus feet, Kasapayya Nāyaka, gained renown. When he was ruling the Banavase Twelve Thousand, in that country...was the Nāgarkhaṇḍa kampana. The master of the *manneya* of the beautiful Nāgarkhaṇḍa Seventy, a moon to the waterlily the Kadamba-kula... was Sōyi (or Sōma) Dēva, whose father was the king Boppa-Dēva, and Siriya-dēvi his mother"<sup>2</sup>.

It also appears that in the course of the war between the Kadambas and the Kaḷachuryas the latter conquered the Banavasi province and probably handed it over to Sōyi-dēva. An inscription of 1160 tells us that Sōyi-dēva was ruling the Banavasi Twelve Thousand<sup>3</sup>. This record also mentions the name of Kasapayya, the local governor of the Kaḷachuryas.

In 1163 however, peace was concluded between the Kaḷachuryas and the Hāṅgal Kadambas, and the Banavasi Twelve Thousand was probably restored to the former. This we infer from an inscription of 1165 which associates Sōyi-dēva with the government only of the Nāgarkhaṇḍa Seventy<sup>4</sup>.

Sōyi-dēva ever remained intimate with his overlords the Kaḷachuryas. An inscription of this period connects him with the Kaḷachurya family by telling us that the whole Kadamba family sprang from a Kaḷachurya King named Sōma<sup>5</sup>. He was at

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ante, p. 138.

<sup>2</sup> E.C., VIII, Sb, 328.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Sb, 346.

<sup>4</sup> E.C., VII, Sk, 277.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., Sk, 236. This inscription would therefore have us believe that Soma-deva was born after the death of Taila. But we are more inclined to trust the authority of Sb, 325, which refers to the birth of Soma in the lifetime of Taila. The former inscription, as will be seen below, contains many falsehoods and was evidently intended to flatter these chiefs who had suddenly risen to power. However we quite agree that the authority of the Kadambas of Hāṅgal had been much damaged at this time for the reason given above.

times deputed by them for subduing the neighbouring kings. It was probably for this reason that he styled himself 'the subduer of hostile kings, in an inscription of 1168<sup>1</sup>. As may be seen from a Kaḷachurya epigraph of 1166 he proceeded against the Śāntara chief Jaga-dēva under the orders of his over-lord Bijjala<sup>2</sup>. Again we learn from a record of 1171 that he challenged the Changālva King and put him into chains. This brave achievement acquired for him the titles of Kadamba Rudra, Gandaradavani, maṇḍalika Bhairava, Nigaḷanka-malla, and Satya-pataka<sup>3</sup>. Who this Changālva King, defeated by Sōyi-dēva was, we are not in a position to say.

The record of 1177 informs us that Malla-dēva's Queen Padumala-dēvi having become hostile to Sōyi-dēva, plundered Kuppattur and raiding the folds carried away the cows<sup>4</sup>. This Malla-dēva was the Gutta king called Malla or Malla-dēva, who appears to have died in 1176<sup>5</sup>. His Queen was very likely acting as regent to his son (?) Sampakarasa, whose record dated in 1179 says that this was the third year of his rule<sup>6</sup>.

The inscriptions give us the name of two of his wives: one was Lichchala-dēvi, who bore him a son named Boppa<sup>7</sup>. The other wife was Malala-dēvi, by whom he had a daughter called Lichchala-dēvi<sup>8</sup>.

Sōyi-dēva was succeeded by his son Boppa. It is clear from the latter's record of about 1182 that during his reign the Kadam-bas of Nāgarkhaṇḍa transferred their allegiance to the Hoysaḷas<sup>9</sup>. The reason was that the latter had by this time completely overthrown the Kaḷachurya supremacy. For soon after the truce signed at Beḷaigāmi between the Kaḷachuryas and the Hoysaḷas, reference to which has been made elsewhere, the latter under their King Vīra Ballāḷa II resumed hostilities and completely shattered the Kaḷachurya power. The above mentioned inscription of Boppa refers to Ballāḷa as the overlord of the former, when it

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VIII, Sa, 114.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Sb, 286.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Sb, 345.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Sb, 412.

<sup>5</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 581.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 197, 236.

<sup>8</sup> Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 59.

<sup>9</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 197.

says that Sankama-dēva, the general of Boppa's forces, "marched away and joined the King Ballāḷa, and by service at his lotus feet was causing the ocean of his valour to roar aloud".

Brahma-bhūpāla was the son and successor of Boppa-dēva. He is mentioned as the feudatory of the Hoysaḷa King Vira-Ballāḷa II in an inscription of 1204. The record, after giving a brief history of the various dynasties that held sway over the Kuntala country, concludes: "After that, subduing the powerful, a hero with the sword in his own hand, the king Ballāḷa ruled the earth with grace, while all lands applauded" <sup>1</sup>.

We have no more inscriptions of these rulers, till we come to A. D. 1235. It would appear from an inscription of 1207 that they were deprived of their territories at about this period. The Hoysaḷas appointed a certain Malli-dēva of the Kaśyapa gōtra as the governor of Nāgarkhaṇḍa Seventy, and he made the city of Bāndhavapura his capital (rājadhāni) <sup>2</sup>. The way in which the royal line of Nāgarkhaṇḍa is referred to would indicate that the family had long ceased to possess this province.

A grant of about 1235 mentions a King named Kadambarāya <sup>3</sup>. He probably belonged to this dynasty, but this cannot be said with certainty.

In 1442 we are apprised of one Madhukaṇṇa-Nāyaka, in the reign of Rājādhirāja rāja-paramēśvara Virapratāpa Immadi-dēva-rāya-Mahārāja, the Vijayanagara Emperor. Madhukaṇṇa is said to be the son of the Kadamba Sōyi-dēvarasa of Bandaḷike. The inscription records: "When Madhukaṇṇa-Nāyaka, son of the Kadamba Sōyi-Dēvarasa of Bandaḷike, the famous royal city of the Nāgarkhaṇḍa Seventy, his son Baicharasa and his son-in-law Surappa-Nāyaka had blocked up Kappegere, a hamlet of Banavase,—and the people of the *tiriha* coming laid siege to it,—like brave men, killing many, and being cut to pieces, gained the world of gods" <sup>4</sup>. This Madhukaṇṇa seems to be the last representative of the ancient Kadambas of Nāgarhiṇḍa.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Sk, 225.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Sk, 235.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Sh, 80.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Sk, 240.

## CHAPTER VI

### The Kadambas of Kalinga

In the time of the Ganga Kings of Kalinga, there was in this province a line of feudatory chiefs belonging to the Kadamba family that ruled a small territory under them. This territory was known as Pañcha-vishaya or Pañchapātra-vishaya. These chiefs bore the cognomen *Khedī*, as is clear from the fact that all the representatives of this dynasty are given this appellation in the inscriptions. They carried the *matsya lānchhana* or the fish signet, and their official designations were Rāṇaka, Maṇḍalēśvara and Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara.

The information yielded by the inscriptions so far discovered, is not sufficient to work out a complete genealogical list of these sovereigns. The earliest of these inscriptions, which has been assigned on palaeographical grounds to the 11th century, mentions the name of Ugrakhēḍirāja who is said to be "the ornament of the spotless family of the Kadambas" and born in the clan of Nidusanti<sup>1</sup>. His overlord on the Kalinga throne was King Vajrahasta, and if the latter was the third king of that name, we may say roughly that Ugrakhēḍī ruled somewhere in the first half of the eleventh century. This inscription records the grant of a village to *Rājaputra* Śrī Kāmadi of the Naggari-Saluki family on the occasion of his marriage to the daughter of Dāraparāja, who was the regent of five districts (Pañcha-vishaya.) After specifying the boundaries the inscription proceeds to state that the above-mentioned Ugrakhēḍī was the official in charge of this village<sup>2</sup>, which may lead us to conclude that the Kadambas of Kalinga were in the beginning small village officials, and their faithful services commended them to be appointed later on as Pañchavishayādhipatis or rulers of Pañchavishayas.

<sup>1</sup> *E. I.*, III, p. 222.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 221-222.

The first Kadamba ruler, described as Pañchavishayādhipati, that has come to our knowledge, is the mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Rājaka Śrī Bhāma Khēḍi. He is mentioned in the Mandasa plates of his son Dharma Khēḍi, which are dated in Ś. S. 976 or A. D. 1054<sup>1</sup>. The proximity of the dates may show that Bhāma Khēḍi was an immediate successor of Ugrakhēḍi, if not a son of his.

Bhāma Khēḍi was succeeded by his son Dharma Khēḍi. We have two records that speak of this ruler. One is the above-mentioned Mandasa inscription which registers the gift of Madhipattharakhaṇḍa village in the Mahēndra-Bhōga to a certain Ujjaka<sup>2</sup>. The others are the Vizagapatam plates of Devēndravarmma<sup>3</sup>. The King is said to have made the grant at the instance of Dharma Khēḍi, his maternal uncle. This document is dated in the 254th year of the Ganga era. It must however be noted that though Dharma Khēḍi is not mentioned as belonging to the Kadamba family in this inscription, the appellation Khēḍi is a sufficient indication of his Kadamba descent.

Udayāditya-dēva was the son and successor of Dharma Khēḍi. He is referred to in the Kambakaya grant of Devēndravarmma of Ś. S. 1103 or A.D. 1181<sup>4</sup>.

The last Kadamba ruler of Kaṭinga to whom the records allude is Mahāsāmaṇṭa Nāgakhēḍi. He is described as a feudatory of Mahārāja Śrī Indravarmma-dēva, the lord of Kaṭinga<sup>5</sup>. However the inscription being undated, and as we do not know, when exactly Indravarmma-dēva ruled, it is not possible to fix the place of Nāgakhēḍi in the Eastern Kadamba genealogy.

It will be seen from the above account that the Kadambas of Kaṭinga were an influential line of subordinate chiefs that gradually rose to prominence in the service of the Ganga kings. As has already been noted, they began as small revenue officers of the Gangas and by gradual promotion in their service, succeeded as officers of larger administrative divisions. The powerful influence they wielded at the Ganga court is evidenced from the fact that they were related to the ruling family by marriage. The later inscriptions describe them as the lords of Pañchavishaya, an adminis-

<sup>1</sup> A.R.S.I.E., 1918, C.P. No. 12 of 1917-18.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet, *Sanscrit and Old Kanarese Inscriptions*, I. A., XVIII, p. 146.

<sup>4</sup> *Madras Government Museum Report*, 1929, p. 8, Appendix, II, No. 1; *Bharati*, IV, p. 11.

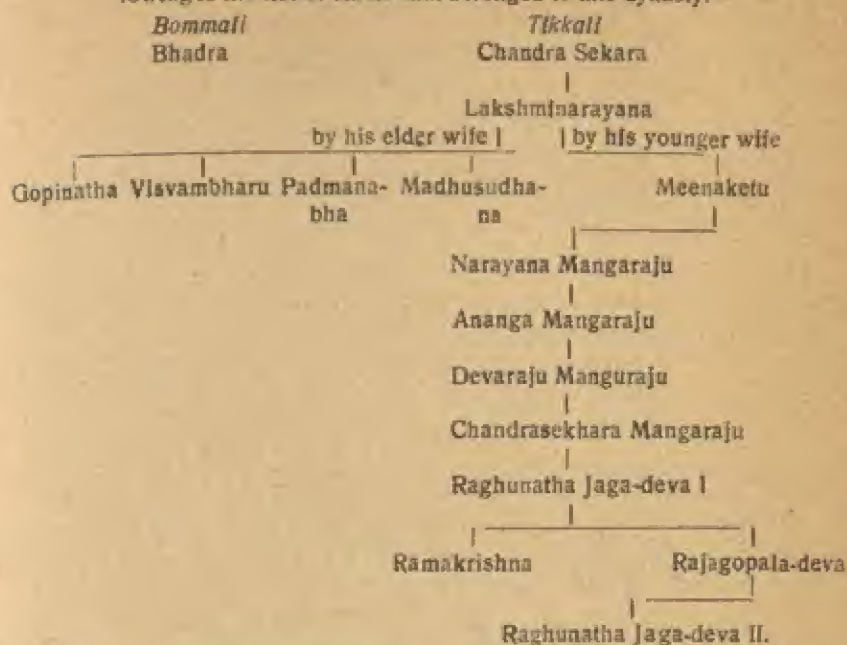
<sup>5</sup> A.R.S.I.E., 1918, C. P. No. 9 of 1917-18.

trative unit which is completely lost sight of at the present day. Even so, as the names of the villages mentioned in their records, such as Madhipattharakhaṇḍa in Mahēndrabhōga, may now be identified with villages of similar names in the Mandasa Zamindari, it will not be unreasonable to suppose that Pañchavishaya or Pañchapātravishaya, as it is also called, corresponded with a part of the present Mandasa Zamindari in the Ganjam District<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Ramdas, *Historical Geography of the Kalinga under the Eastern Ganges*, Q. J. M. S., XIV, p. 269. A Telugu MS. in the Oriental Library, Madras, gives the genealogy of Jaga-deva, the Zamindar of Tikkali, who is said to belong to the Kadamba family. According to this MS. two princes Vira Bhadra and Chandra Sekara belonging to Simhala of the Northern region, having quarrelled with their elder brother came to Gajapati Sivalinga Narayana-deva, the reigning King, and were given a warm reception by him. They were directed to proceed against two of the neighbouring rulers on hostile terms with Narayana-deva, and in the event of their returning successful, they were promised to be installed as rulers of the respective territories conquered by them. Accordingly Vira Bhadra conquered Bommali from Genathi, and became its ruler. His successors held this territory for some time, when the family became extinct. Chandra Sekara on the other hand, defeated and dispossessed Gerrabozalu and made himself the undisputed master of Tikkali. Soon after he also brought Borugaon under his sway. There were in all ten rulers in this line, all of whom distinguished themselves by many works of public utility, such as building of temples and shrines, of towns and villages, clearing and afforestation of land and constructing tanks. They were very soon recognised as one of the most influential ruling families in the country, and the neighbouring kings sought relationship with them by marriage. In the reign of Raghunatha Jaga-deva, the last in the list, the kingdom was invaded by Sri Gajapati Jagannatha Narayana-deva of Parlakimedi, who took possession of the kingdom and made the former prisoner. But Balarama-deva, a relative of Raghunatha with the help of Pusapathi Vizayaramaraju of Vijayanagaram, very soon recovered the kingdom; whereupon Jagannatha Narayana-deva seeing that the imprisonment of Raghunatha was to no purpose, released him, and on the latter taking the oath of fealty, gave him his daughter in marriage. On reaching the capital, he took over charge of Tikkali from Balarama. Some years later when Colonel Fletcher proceeded against Jagannatha Narayana-deva of Parlakimedi, under instructions of the East India Company, Raghunatha who was fighting under the banner of his overlord, realizing the strength of the Company's forces and that it was useless to resist, seceded to the side of the enemy. Colonel Fletcher confirmed him in the possession of his hereditary dominions, on condition that

he would pay a yearly tribute of Rs. 3000 to the Company. The following is the list of chiefs that belonged to this dynasty:—



This MS. is referred to by Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 334, No. 17. For the History of this dynasty of Eastern Kadambas cf. Soma-sekhara Sarma, *Kadambas of Kalinga*, *J. A. H. R. S.*, IV, pp. 113-118.



PART VII

**Internal History**



## CHAPTER I

### Religion

The earliest religious worship in Kaṇṇāṭaka rose from the feeling of fear that actuated the ancients. Thus it was that the cult of fear found its expression in the worship of spirits and goblins, that has survived in the villages up to this day. Another worship of a similar nature that became equally wide-spread in Kaṇṇāṭaka was that of the nāga or the serpent. Even at present it forms a part of popular religion among the Hindus, and there is scarcely a village in the Kanarese country which has not the effigies of the hooded cobra sculptured on a stone, and placed under a pipal tree or near a temple for public veneration.

It appears from the frequent mention of the Nāgas in ancient Hindu history that they were a race of serpent worshippers, who inhabited many parts of India<sup>1</sup>. It is certain that they also occupied the Kanarese country, as many of the royal families that ruled over Kaṇṇāṭaka claimed descent from them. Thus it is to be inferred from the Dēvagiri plates of Kṛṣṇavarmma I, that the Kadambas were descended from this ancient and wide-spread people<sup>2</sup>. The Sēndrakas also claimed to be of the Bhujagendra-anvaya or of the lineage of the snake king.<sup>3</sup> The Sindas, we are told, were of the Phanirājavarṇsa<sup>4</sup>, which has the same connotation, while the Sēnavāras carried the *phani-dhvaja* or serpent flag<sup>5</sup>. The Ālupas too seem to have belonged to the same Nāga stock, for *aluka* is an epithet of Śēsha, the chief of the serpent race, there is reason to suppose that they were connected with the Nāgas<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Rice, *Mysore*, I, pp. 363-365.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Sanscrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VII, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 110.

<sup>4</sup> E. C., VII, HI, 20, 53; IX, p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> E. C., VI, Cm, 95.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 309.

It is not known when exactly the Nāga worship was superseded by Śaivism. The latter soon became identified with the phallus worship. This cult had begun in the neolithic times, as is obvious from the neolithic remains in the Dekkan that have been brought to light by Bruce Foote, which include some phalli<sup>1</sup>. In course of time it came to be influenced by the animistic and Nāga cults. This is evidenced by the form the phallus took in later times. It was erected on the *Śakti* which formed the pedestal, while the snake protected and ornamented the *linga* (phallus) round which it formed a coil.

It was a great step from the cult of the phallus to that of Rudra Śiva. It has been suggested that Śiva was a trans-Himalayan god and the Yakshas had much to do with his origin. They were a Himālayan race "who in remote antiquity spread as far as Ceylon and by sheer might imposed themselves on sub-Himālayan people as gods"<sup>2</sup>. The relation of the former with Śiva is seen from the fact that two Yakshas with clubs are represented as guarding every Śiva sanctum to-day<sup>3</sup>. The trans-Himālayan influence on sub-Himālayan religion also becomes apparent when we see that many of the foreigners who came to India from that region were worshippers of Śiva. The Kushan coins, for instance, contain Śiva and the Nandi, but not the phallus<sup>4</sup>. Similarly, the Hūnas, the Śakas and the Pallavas were worshippers of Śiva. The conclusion to be derived from all this is that "in the evolution of the phallus into Rudra-Śiva with certain attributes, the yaksha, or trans-Himālayan influence is traceable"<sup>5</sup>.

The un-Aryan and un-Vedic origin of Śiva is also apparent from the legend of the destruction of Daksha's sacrifice. The probable explanation of this story is that Śiva was the deity of the trans-Himālayan tribes, which preceded the Aryan races on the Indian soil. As Mr. Rice has observed he "wished to have a part in the worship of the conquerors and in their sacrifices, from which he was excluded; and by disturbing their rites and by a dis-

<sup>1</sup> Foote, *Indian Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities*, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Subramanian, *The Origin of Śaivism*, p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> In the Museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay there is a coin of Kadphises II showing Śiva and the Nandi on the reverse. Cf. also Rapson, *Indian Coins*, pl. II, No. 13.

<sup>5</sup> Subramanian, *o. c.*, p. 27.

play of violence, he succeeded in being admitted to participate in them" <sup>1</sup>. The first stage of the introduction of Śiva into Hinduism was his identification with Rudra of the Vēdas. Subsequently he was associated with the phallic worship, which the Aryans borrowed from the barbarian tribes with whom they came in contact <sup>2</sup>. We have said above that the phallic worship was essentially a non-Aryan cult. This is confirmed by the prayer to Indra in the Rig-Vēda not to allow those whose god is Śisna (the phallus) to disturb the rite of the singers <sup>3</sup>. Lastly he was raised to the supreme position of one of the persons of the Trimurti.

It is obvious from the Talagunda inscription that this religion had been preached in Southern India long before the foundation of the Kadamba family. For the inscription avers that at the Śiva temple at Sthanakundur (Talagunda), which was rebuilt by Kākusthavarmma of the Kadamba family, Śātakarṇi and other kings had formerly worshipped <sup>4</sup>.

This was the position Śaivism had acquired when Mayūravarmma founded the Kadamba dynasty. The same record tells us that Mayūravarmma came of a Brahman family. Now the fact that he repaired to Kāñchīpuram, the Pallava capital, desirous of studying the Vēdas and the whole of the sacred lore suggests that he was a Śaiva Brahman. For it is well known that the Pallavas were staunch Śaivites and consequently their capital was a stronghold of Śaivism. This form of worship seems to have been the religion of the Kadamba kings of the first dynasty.

These kings nevertheless were of a very tolerant disposition, and allowed other religions to flourish in their kingdom side by side with Śaivism. This toleration is evidenced by the numerous grants they made to the Jains <sup>5</sup>, which led Dr. J. F. Fleet, Mr. K. B. Pathak and others to suppose that the Kadambas were of the Jaina persuasion <sup>6</sup>. The error was however corrected by Dr. Fleet in the second edition of his *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* <sup>7</sup>, which he published after the discovery of the inscription

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rice, *Mysore Gazetteer*, I, pp. 375-376.

<sup>2</sup> Bhandarkar, *Vaisnavism, Saivism*, p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *E.C.*, VII, Sk. 176.

<sup>5</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Kanarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VI, pp. 25, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 35, 36, 38.

<sup>7</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 286.

of Śāntivarmma at Talagunda. That the religion of the Kadambas was Brahmanism and not Jainism is also established beyond doubt by another inscription of the same dynasty found in the Kadur Taluqua. Here Viṣṇuvarmma, the donor of the grant, is described as the "protector of the excellent Brahman faith"<sup>1</sup>. Furthermore we know from the epigraphical records that some of the kings performed the *aśvāmēdha* sacrifice<sup>2</sup>. The later inscriptions say that the kings of this dynasty celebrated in all eighteen horse sacrifices<sup>3</sup>. As this is a purely Brahman rite, it affords further proof that these kings were not Jains.

Śaivism flourished in the Kadamba dominions for a long time. But it did not have an undisputed sway over the people, for it had to contend with other religious rivals, such as Buddhism and Jainism. Nevertheless the wide propagation of Śaivism is evident from the various *maṭhas*, the temples and the flourishing communities of Śaiva ascetics that existed all over the country in the Kadamba period. We shall speak later about the *maṭhas* in connection with their educational activities. These *maṭhas* were mostly the establishments of the Śaiva ascetics called the Kālāmukhas<sup>4</sup>. The Goravas were another sect of Śaiva ascetics<sup>5</sup>, so were the Kāpālikas, who were distinguished by their wearing human skulls round their necks and eating and drinking from them<sup>6</sup>.

The temples were important as centres of religious worship. It was at the temples that the people listened to the reading of the Purāṇas and the Dharmaśāstras, and made their votive offerings to the deity<sup>7</sup>. They were also important as educational agencies. For in them arrangements were made to impart education to the young<sup>8</sup>. Sometimes advanced education also found place within their precincts. For instance, in the Pranamēśvara temple at Talagunda, there were taught the *Rig-vēda*, *Yujur-vēda*, *Pāda-khandika*, *Sāma-vēda*, *Kalpa*, *Sabdaśāstra*, including *Rupavatara* and *Nyāya* and *Pravara* and *Vēdānta*<sup>9</sup>. Finally the temples sheltered many ascetics who were given food and raiment free of charge<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VI, Kd, 162.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., Sk, 178; Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VII, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., XI, Mk, 41; Dg, 32.

<sup>4</sup> E. J., XII, p. 237.

<sup>5</sup> E. J., XII, p. 290.

<sup>6</sup> E. J., XVII, p. 15. III, p. 201.

<sup>7</sup> Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa*, J.B.B.R.A.S., IX, p. 74, etc.

<sup>8</sup> E. C., XI, Dg, 39.

<sup>9</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 185.

<sup>10</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 345.

The temple staff generally consisted of the *āchārya*, (priest), the *raṁṣiga*, (the flute player), the *raṁāḷavaḷa*, (goldsmith) the *pergaḍe* (manager), the courtesans, the drummer and the stone mason<sup>1</sup>.

The temples were supported by the endowments of kings and nobles<sup>2</sup>. Similarly the rich and benevolent citizens purchased lands and gave them to the god to provide for the ordinary expenses<sup>3</sup>. The temples were also maintained by charging the worshipers with visiting fees<sup>4</sup>, and from the toll levied on merchants<sup>5</sup> and farmers<sup>6</sup>. In some temples the various expenses were met by the different castes. Thus the washermen and the *kottalīs* of the village of Gama in the Shikarpur Taluqua agreed among themselves that they should contribute one *paṇa* per family to provide lamp oil and sandal for the god Vināyaka<sup>7</sup>. In other villages it was the oilman who had to tend to the perpetual lamp of the temple. For this purpose oil-mills were made over to the temple authorities<sup>8</sup>.

From a social point of view the temples served a very useful purpose. As Prof. Venkatesvara observes, they were seats of festive gatherings and rejoicings, which, while they were admittedly of a religious character, did much in relieving the dull monotony of existence<sup>9</sup>. Some of the festivals mentioned in the inscriptions are the Chaitra or the festival of Spring<sup>10</sup>, and the Dīpāvali whose celebration extended from Asvina (kṛishṇa) 14 to Kārttika (śukla) 1<sup>11</sup>.

The temples, though they were of great use to the people, being the religious and educational centres in the country, seem to have possessed one great defect in their organisation. This was that immoral women were not only permitted to take part in the service, but formed an essential part of the ritual<sup>12</sup>. However the early inscriptions do not speak of the harlots being admitted to minister to the wants of the god. This seems to be

<sup>1</sup> *E.I.*, IV, p. 355; XV, pp. 83, 334; XVII, pp. 10, 123.

<sup>2</sup> *E.C.*, VIII, Sb, 377; Fleet, o. c., pp. 277, 275, 286.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 309.

<sup>4</sup> *E.I.*, XII, p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> *E.C.*, V, Mj, 18.

<sup>6</sup> Fleet, o. c., p. 309; *E.I.*, XIII, p. 15.

<sup>7</sup> *E.C.*, VII, Sk, 11.

<sup>8</sup> Fleet, o. c., p. 302.

<sup>9</sup> Venkatesvara, *Indian Culture through the Ages*, I, p. 275.

<sup>10</sup> *E.I.*, V, p. 259.

<sup>11</sup> *E.I.*, XII, p. 338.

<sup>12</sup> *E. C.*, XV, pp. 82-83; XVII, p. 10 and others.

a later degeneration of the praiseworthy custom of virgins devoting themselves to the service of the god. The existence of such vestal virgins is obvious from an inscription at Beḷagāmi of A.D. 1047, which mentions a grant by Kunda-Rāja to his younger sister Bichabarasi, who was attached to the temple of Jagadēka-mallēśvara in that city<sup>1</sup>.

Jainism had always been a stumbling-block in the path of progress of the Śaiva religion. The policy of toleration adhered to by the Kadamba monarchs contributed not a little to its growth. This is evident from the inscriptions of the Kadamba kings. We are told in a copper-plate record at Halsi that the Bhoja priest Śrutakīrtti acquired the favour of Kākusthavarmma who granted him the village of Khēṭa<sup>2</sup>. The large number of Jaina inscriptions that record grants made by Mṛigēśa and other kings show that from the time of this monarch, Jainism became a serious rival of Śaiva worship. The flourishing state of Jainism is also indicated by the inscriptions that point to the existence of many communities of Jaina ascetics, such as *Śvētapaṭas*, a sect who were distinguished by their white clothes<sup>3</sup>, the *Yāpanias*, who were a sect of religious mendicants<sup>4</sup>, the *Kūrchakas*, a community of naked religious monks<sup>5</sup>, and the *Nirgathas*, who wore no clothes at all<sup>6</sup>. The influence that teachers of this religion wielded was indeed great as may be seen from the fact that Kumāradatta, who is called the chief among learned men, is said to have been consulted by Ravivarmma in matters of government and religion<sup>7</sup>.

This creed which grew unchecked during the supremacy of the Kadambas, received a fresh stimulus in the time of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. The proselitising activities of two Jaina gurus, Vivasēna and Jinasēna, and the four scholarly works *Jayadhavaḷa*, *Viḷayadhavaḷa*, *Atidhavaḷa*, and *Mahadhavaḷa* that came to be written at this period brought fresh converts into the Jaina fold.

Jaina maṭhas were established in all parts of Kaṇṇāṭaka. The inscriptions speak at length about the Jaina monastery at Kuppa-

<sup>1</sup> E.C., VII, Sk, 151.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I.A., VI, p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., VII, p. 38.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., VI, p. 25.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., VII, p. 38.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., VI, p. 27.

tūr, and give a short genealogy of the gurus<sup>1</sup>. We learn from the records that Queen Mālala-dēvi patronised this institution. At Bhandavapura there was another famous maṭha<sup>2</sup>. The flourishing city of Beḷagāmi also contained a representative Jaina population and there existed a Jaina monastery<sup>3</sup>.

The growth of Jainism brought about the decay of the Śiva worship. Yet the crisis in the history of the latter creed arrived in the middle of the 12th century, when it was specially exposed to danger from attacks of the Jainas, and apparently, of some still existing Buddhist influences<sup>4</sup>. The inscription that gives us this information shews that Ekānta Rāma came most prominently to the rescue of the waning faith. It was probably he who originated the movement of revival of Śiva worship which was subsequently taken up by Basava. The story is told of Ēkānta Rāma's exploits that one day the Jainas, led by a village headman, began to sing the praises of Jina in the vicinity of the image of Śiva. Ēkānta, who worshipped this image, remonstrated, maintaining that no other god deserved to be praised in the neighbourhood of Śiva. When he found that he had protested in vain, he started to sing the eulogy of Śiva, as the creator, preserver, and destroyer, and as the god whose essence pervades the whole universe. The Jainas then challenged him to decapitate himself and offer his head to Śiva, promising that, if his head would be restored to him, they would acknowledge the supremacy of Śiva over Jina. Further, they executed a deed on a palmyra leaf that in the event of his success they would raze to the ground the Jaina temple and set up an image of Śiva in its place. Then Ēkānta cut off his own head and laid it at the feet of Śiva. On the seventh day Ēkānta was again alive. The Jainas however failed to keep their word. Consequently Ēkānta in spite of the precaution taken by the Jainas to place a guard round the *basti*, broke off the head of Jina, and presented it as an offering to his own god, and set up an image of Śiva, under the name of Vira Sōmanatha, at Ablur, and built a temple for it. The Jainas went and complained to Bijjala, who became very indignant and questioned Ēkānta Rāmayya as to why he had committed that outrage. Thereupon Ēkānta produced the deed signed by the Jainas and offered that if the Jainas would

<sup>1</sup> E.C., VIII, Sb, 263.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Sb, 345, 384; E.C., VII, Sk, 197.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Sk, 100.

<sup>4</sup> E. I., V, pp. 245, 255.

wager their 700 temples he would repeat the feat. Desirous of seeing the spectacle Bijjala called all the learned men of the Jaina temples together, and bade them wager their temples, repeating the conditions on a palmyra leaf. The Jainas however would not face the test again. So Bijjala laughed at them and dismissing them with the advice that they should live in peace with their neighbours, gave Ēkānta a *jayapatra* or certificate of success. The Śiva temple was granted the Gogave village in Sattalige Seventy. Subsequently when Sōmēśvara IV succeeded to the government, he called Ēkānta to his presence and granted to the same temple a village in the Nāgarkhaṇḍa Seventy. Finally the mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kāma-dēva went and saw the temple and having the feet of Ēkānta granted it a village named Maḷlavalli near Muṇḍagōḍ<sup>1</sup>. It is apparent that eliminating the supernatural agency and the miracle there is nothing in this account that will render it incredible or unreasonable. The dispute must have taken place before 1162, since Bijjala is described in the record as mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, when he made this grant to the temple. The Śaivite movement started by Ēkānta had, probably for its basic principle the idea of returning to the pure Śiva worship, i. e., the worship of the phallus without the later development of image, *karma*, etc.

Soon Basava put himself at the head of the movement. According to tradition he was a son of an Ardhya Brahman and having refused to wear the sacred thread, as its investiture required the adoration of the sun, he went to the capital of Bijjala. Here he became the prime minister, and gave his whole-hearted support to the new movement. The impetus that was given to the Śiva faith resulted in the establishment of a new sect of Śaivism called the Vira-Śaivas, i. e. the brave, fierce or strict Śaivas.

In the early Kadamba inscriptions there is no evidence of the prevalence in Kaṇṇāṭaka of the ancient Vaiṣṇava worship. But it is possible that along with Śaivites and Jainas there also existed a few Vaiṣṇavites. For we know that Vaiṣṇavism was propagated early during the Scythian and Gupta periods<sup>2</sup>.

The importance of Vaiṣṇavism in the history of the Kadam-bas is that one of the branches of this dynasty, the Kadam-bas of

<sup>1</sup> E. I., V, pp. 255-259.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Raychaudhuri, *Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*, pp. 35-106.

Hāṅgal, were Vaiṣṇavas<sup>1</sup>. It is not possible to say when and how they were converted to this faith. Probably some religious teacher convinced them of the superiority of Vaiṣṇavism over Śaivism, and consequently they adopted the former faith.

Vaiṣṇavism was preached with unusual vigour in the 11th century. The propagator of this religion in this period was Rāmānuja. He was born at Śrī Permittūr near Madras, in 1016-17<sup>2</sup>, and studied at Kāñchīpuram. From there he went to Śrīragam where he perfected his system and wrote his philosophical treatises. During his stay at the latter place he seems to have gathered round him many disciples. But he was not allowed to remain there very long. The Chōḷa ruler Karikala could not tolerate the spread of the new sect. Persecution broke out<sup>3</sup>, and Rāmānuja was compelled to fly for safety from the Chōḷa kingdom to Chandra-giri. Thence he proceeded to the Kārṇāṭaka country, where, as we have seen, the prevailing religious belief was Jainism. Here he made many converts by his exhortations and disputes. One of these converts was the Hoysala King Biṭṭi-dēva called after this event Viṣṇuvardhana<sup>4</sup>.

Besides the above religions we also find traces of Buddhism in ancient Kārṇāṭaka. This religion was preached in this country during the supremacy of the Mauryas over Kuntala. We are told in the *Mahāvāṇsa* that after the third convocation of the Buddhists, the thera, son of Magali, thought of establishing the religion of Buddha in other regions, and accordingly despatched missionaries to different countries. One of these preachers was Rakkhita, who was deputed to Banavasi. He preached the *anattatta* doctrine of Buddha with such singular success that sixty thousand persons were converted to the Buddhist faith, and of these thirty seven thousand were ordained priests by him<sup>5</sup>. This is the account of the preaching of Rakkhita given in the 9th century, when the *Mahāvāṇsa* was written. It is possible that the story was exaggerated after a lapse of over a thousand years, and the tradition then current was recorded by the author of the *Mahāvāṇsa* in his work. The fact seems to be that the efforts of the Buddhist

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Kanarese Inscriptions*, I. A., X, p. 253. Cf. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 560.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, I, p. 533; Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism*, p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> E. I., XIV, p. 85.

<sup>4</sup> Bhandarkar, *o. c.*, p. 52.

<sup>5</sup> Wijesinha, *The Mahāvāṇsa*, pp. 47-48.

missionaries were attended with some success, as is evident from the account given by Hiuen Tsiang of the Buddhist community at Banavasi (Konkanapura)<sup>1</sup>, and its surroundings. This pilgrim visited Banavasi after its conquest by the Chalukyas early in the 7th century. He mentions that at this time there were about 100 *saṅghārāmas* with 10,000 priests, who were followers of both the Mahāyāna and the Hinayāna sects. In the city itself there were two *saṅghārāmas* and three *stūpas*, with priests who were all men of distinction<sup>2</sup>.

From Banavasi and Kuntala Buddhism naturally spread to Southern Kōṅkaṇ, the country ruled centuries after by the branch of the Goa Kadambas. A statue of Buddha in *dhyāna mudrā*, of the first or second century A. D., recently found at Colvale at the province of Bardes in Goa, bears witness to the existence of Buddhism in Southern Kōṅkaṇ in the beginning of the Christian era<sup>3</sup>.

But in course of time the number of the Buddhists seems to have dwindled away. The inscriptions of 11th century and after show that Buddhism had fallen on evil days. The records showing traces of Buddhism are very rare. A record of 1065 says that the daṇḍanāyaka Rūpabhattayya made a grant of land to the gods of the city of Beḷagāmi, 'Kēśava, Lokēśvara, and Buddha'<sup>4</sup>. Another of 1067 mentions that there was a Buddhist teacher at Beḷagāmi of the name of '...prabha Bauddha-Bhalara'<sup>5</sup>. An epigraph of 1129 informs us that there existed five *maṭhas* in the *agrahāra* city of Beḷagāmi 'like the five arrows in the world', dedicated respectively to Hari, Hara, Kamalāsana, Vitaraya and Buddha<sup>6</sup>. At the same time we find two Buddhist jatis at the court of Jayakēśi I of Goa, Chandrapura, mentioned by the famous Jaina writer Hēmachandra<sup>7</sup>. This is practically the last mention of the Buddhists in Kaṇṇāṭaka, for the religion they practised soon became extinct, confused with, and absorbed by Hinduism.

Closely related to religious worship are the ceremonies which

<sup>1</sup> For the identification of Konkanapura with Banavasi cf. ante, p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, pp. 254-255.

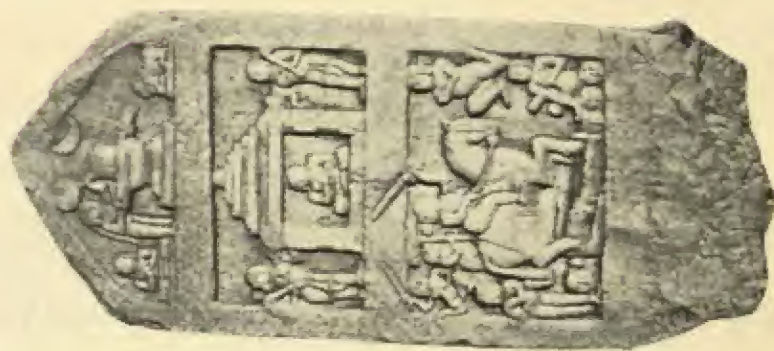
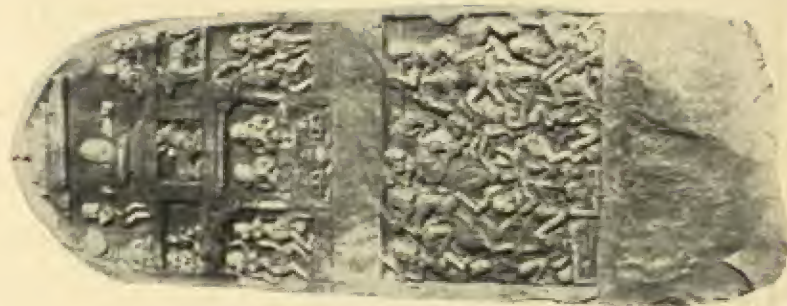
<sup>3</sup> Heras, *A Newly Discovered Statue of Buddha near Goa*, *J.B.H.S.*, III, pp. 173-186. This statue at present is in the Museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

<sup>4</sup> *E. C.*, VII, Sk. 170.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Sk. 169.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Sk. 100.

<sup>7</sup> *Dvaisharaya*, I. A., IV, p. 233.



19-20. Haveri. Viragals near the Siddheshvara Temple.



21-22. Hāveri. Viragala near the Siddheshvara Temple.

each religion prescribes. The inscriptions speak about the eight rites of the Jaina temples<sup>1</sup>. One of the most important ceremonies which the Jainas often performed was that of self-destruction by starvation. We learn from an inscription at Bañkāpur that the Ganga King Mārasimha II took the vow to fast for three days and attained rest (died)<sup>2</sup>. Similarly Jakkiabbe, who was holding the office of naḡ-gāuṇḍa of the Nāgarkhaṇḍa Seventy, when she was afflicted by some bodily ailment, resigned everything to her daughter and expired in performance of the Jaina vow of fasting<sup>3</sup>.

Another instance of self-destruction is the ceremony of drowning oneself when one finds that the end is approaching<sup>4</sup>. This mode of death is described by Dr. Bhandarkar as *Jalasamūdhī*<sup>5</sup>. People often took the vow of *sannyāsa*. This consisted in living a life of penance and solitude<sup>6</sup>. The *aśvāmēdha* is a sacrifice of special interest to the political history of the Kadamba dynasty. It was a royal rite symbolic of supreme power<sup>7</sup>. The Kadamba kings claimed to have performed many horse sacrifices.

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 225; E. C., VIII, Sb, 345.

<sup>2</sup> E. I., V, p. 180.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 219.

<sup>4</sup> Bilhana, *Vikramānkaśekhara*, pp. 32-34, vv. 44-68.

<sup>5</sup> Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 84.

<sup>6</sup> E. C., VI, Bg, 161; V, Hn, 58.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Dumont, *L'Asvamedha*, pp. 7-9.

## CHAPTER II

### Administration

**T**he various copper-plates and lithic records that have been discovered, give us excellent glimpses into the different aspects of the Kadamba system of administration. These records reveal to us that both in early and mediaeval times the king was the supreme head of the state. Along with the unlimited power he enjoyed, he was probably surrounded by the fabulous pomp with which the oriental sovereignty is generally associated. He occupied, as his name denotes, the first place in the kingdom and he exercised supreme authority not only in the political sphere but also in matters religious. True as it is that the royal preceptor played an important part as the spiritual adviser of the king, it may safely be affirmed that the monarchy was unfettered by any priestly organization. This becomes evident from the fact that important as were the religious changes which the period witnessed, the kings never allowed themselves to be swayed by any sect, and kept the religious movements well under control. It will be remembered that the period over which the Kadamba history extends saw the rise and decay of Śaivism, its gradual substitution by Vaiṣṇavism, the growth of Jainism, and the effort of the religious teachers to revive Śaivism which culminated in the creation of the Lingayat sect. These changes were indeed momentous, but as there were able and tolerant kings at the helm of affairs, who did not make it their policy to champion the cause of one sect or another, the innovations were allowed to work themselves out without causing the least flutter in the country. It is true that the preaching of Vira-Śaivism was attended with some disturbances in the Dekkan<sup>1</sup>; but there is no evidence to conclude that they affected the country under the Kadambas. The explanation of their success as rulers

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<sup>1</sup> Wurth, *The Basava-Purana of the Lingayats*, J.B.B.R.A.S., IX, p. 68.

is therefore to be found in the policy of toleration which they consistently followed. This would amply prove that they refused to be dictated in their religious policy by any religious preceptor. In fact the inscriptions containing the grants, the Kadambas made to institutions belonging to the sects that were not their own, gratefully acknowledge that these kings gave equal protection to all religions in their dominions<sup>1</sup>.

Though royalty was invested with unlimited authority in theory, in point of fact the free and indiscriminate exercise of the king's powers was checked to a certain extent by the force of convention, which brought other forces into play. The inscriptions while enumerating the attributes of a ruler, indirectly imply that an unrestrained king who sought only his selfish ends was censured by the tribunal of public opinion. Accordingly the king had to submit to the same moral law as any ordinary citizen, and so the qualities the king was expected to possess were nothing else but principles of general morality, besides the attributes special to his office. Thus a good king was the abode of learning, lustre, prudence, sportiveness, profundity, highmindedness, valour, fame and delicacy; a friend of things living, spurning the riches of others, making gifts to priests, chiefs, and the learned, honouring them and keeping their company<sup>2</sup>. Further he was a man of unimpeachable moral character. He could not covet the wives of others. Accordingly the inscriptions often speak of him as a uterine brother to the wives of other men<sup>3</sup>. But in times of war he was allowed, along with his officers and soldiers who followed his example, to add to his seraglio the wives of his enemies, as the title applied to Bijjala "the friend of those who swing the sword seizing the wives of inimical kings," would indicate<sup>4</sup>. Finally a good king always gave shelter to those who fled to him for protection, even though the individual sometime happened to be his enemy<sup>5</sup>. It is plain from what we have said that these were the qualities that were deemed necessary to make an ideal ruler. But

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I.A., VI, pp. 25, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32; VII, pp. 35, 36, 38; E.I., V, pp. 25, 460 and *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa*, J.B.B.R.A.S., IX, p. 283; E.C., IV, Hs, 18.

<sup>3</sup> E.I., VI, p. 257.

<sup>4</sup> E.I., V, pp. 257, 259; Fleet, I, c. Other inscriptions which carry the same idea more or less are in E. I., XIV, p. 167; XVI, p. 355.

<sup>5</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I.A., VI, p. 31. Appendix III, No. 5.

there was no regular means to make him act up to this standard, and it seems doubtful whether many kings conformed to this ideal.

The tendency of the kings to rule despotically was also checked by the custom which made it laudable in a king to receive counsel from his ministers and elders. We read in the Halsi inscription of Harivarmma that he made the grant of a village to the Kūrchakas on the advice of his father's brother Śivaratha<sup>1</sup>. The record of Śivachitta tells us that he made the grant mentioned therein to Narasiṃha temple "at the direction of his mother and with the consent of his prime minister and councillors"<sup>2</sup>. From another inscription we learn of the same King, that when his Queen Kamalā-dēvi approached him with the request to found an agrahāra at Degamve, he took "counsel with his mother Mailalamahādēvi .... as to the propriety of the request of her (Kamalā-dēvi) ..... and having given his consent..... all the ministers headed by Purohita Śrī Vindiyavāsibhaṭṭopādhyāya, having pondered over the matter notified their consent also"<sup>3</sup>.

These restraints, it will be noticed, were only indirect and could not therefore be powerful. Though it was the prevailing custom to consult the ministers and the experienced relatives<sup>4</sup>, it was not absolutely binding on the sovereign to abide by their decision. The restraints brought to bear upon him by convention were not powerful enough to prevent him from making use of the extraordinary powers which were conceded to him in theory. The king's council composed as it was of his ministers and the members of the royal family was a purely consultative body and it possessed no powers over the king either in theory or in practice.

Great as was the authority with which monarchy was always associated, the obligations that were demanded by the kingly office were not less onerous. The main concern of the kings was to assure to the people protection from external enemies and internal disturbances. Hence the phrase is always used in praise of kings that they were administering the kingdom in the enjoyment of pleasant conversations, so as to suppress the evil and protect the excellent<sup>5</sup>. This indeed was always recognised as one of the

<sup>1</sup> *E.I.*, VI, p. 257.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa*, J.B.B.R.A.S., IX, p. 284.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 275.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *E. I.*, XV, p. 79; Fleet, *o. c.*, p. 275,

special functions of sovereignty. The Kadambas are accordingly represented as studying the requital of good and evil<sup>1</sup>.

The kings married many wives, and the favourite among them was probably the chief queen. Given the practice of polygamy, it is psychologically impossible that a particular queen could be the constant focus of the king's affection. It is reasonable to suppose that no sooner did it waste itself on one woman than it turned to another. Consequently life to many of the inmates of the zenana was a veritable misery. Moreover, polygamy bred an atmosphere of suspicion and jealousy within the harem, which is obvious from the epithets given to the chief queen, such as "a whip to the backs of rival wives of high repute"<sup>2</sup>, "the favourite wife crushing the pride of others"<sup>3</sup>, and so forth. The duty of the queen was to treat her subjects, both rich and poor, without distinction<sup>4</sup>. She took part in the public functions with the king<sup>5</sup>. If she was public-spirited she interested herself in many public works such as the establishment of schools and *agrahāra*<sup>6</sup> and the building of temples and shrines<sup>7</sup>.

The king's court, consisting of the *maṇḍalikās*, the ministers, the nobles, the court officials, and the royal preceptor, presented indeed an imposing spectacle<sup>8</sup>. The sculptures on the panels in the Kēśava temple at Belur representing the Hoysala *darbar* give us a glimpse of the splendour of the courts of the Kārnāṭaka kings in those days<sup>9</sup>. The emperor sat in the centre with his queen on the left side very probably under a pavilion. Instead of the sceptre, one of the insignia of sovereignty in the west, he carried the sword in one hand and a flower in the other. There were the chowri-bearers standing on either side and we may presume that the umbrella which is another symbol of royalty also waved over the scene. In front of the king were the royal gurus with their

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> *E. C.*, XV, p. 75; Fleet, *o. c.*, p. 215; *E. I.*, p. 333.

<sup>3</sup> *E. I.*, XIII, p. 174.

<sup>4</sup> *E. I.*, XV, p. 333.

<sup>5</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 346.

<sup>6</sup> Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa*, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, IX, p. 283.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 215.

<sup>8</sup> Fleet, *l. c.*; *E. C.*, V, p. 258-259; VIII, Sb, 442.

<sup>9</sup> The description of the Kadamba court gathered from their inscriptions fully agrees with the representation of the Hoysala court sculptured on the panels of this temple.

principal disciples, the uncles and other old members of the royal family, the ministers, maṇḍalīkas and other court dignitaries<sup>1</sup>. The discussions probably centered round the state matters demanding immediate solution.

The philosophical discourses that were often held among the ministers, formed another feature of the Kadamba court. The kings were learned men and took part in the discussions<sup>2</sup>. This may also suggest that there flourished many scholars at their court. Their patronage of literary men is gathered from the fact that they made gifts of lands to, and remitted taxes from, the learned Brahmins<sup>3</sup>.

The difficult and complicated duties attached to the kingly office demanded constant deliberation with the ministers. The latter were five in number, and they formed a cabinet<sup>4</sup>. According to the nature of the work they fell under five categories, namely the steward of the household (*manevergaḍe*), the councillors (*tañ-trapālas*), minister of state (*pradhāna*), the steward of betel-bag and the secretary of the council<sup>5</sup>. The king as a general rule greatly valued their opinions. Consequently the influence these ministers exerted on the monarch must have been really great. Hence it is obvious that the latter had to exercise the utmost caution in selecting his ministers. On them depended to a large extent the weal or woe of the country.

The qualifications that were deemed necessary for this post can be gathered from the descriptions of the ministers given in the Kadamba inscriptions. They were expected to combine administrative talents with a highly moral course of life<sup>6</sup>. They were persons who had received liberal education, for it was expected of them that they should be 'intent on the affairs of the whole world'<sup>7</sup>. Birth was perhaps another qualification, since the official had to be a man of majesty, who would not stoop to mean things<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Narasimbacharya, *The Kesava Temple at Belur*, pp. 4-5, pl. XIII and XV.

<sup>2</sup> *E. I.*, V, p. 258; *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 442.

<sup>3</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 33; V, Bl, 245.

<sup>4</sup> *E. I.*, XV, p. 75.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *E. I.*, XIII, p. 314.

<sup>7</sup> Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa*, J.B.B.R.A.S., IX, p. 301.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

The minister was generally well-versed in the sciences of logic, rhetoric, and politics<sup>1</sup>. And he made use of his theoretical knowledge in the solution of the burning problems of the day. He was the adviser of the king both in times of peace and war<sup>2</sup>. Consequently he had to be versed in the art of warfare no less than in statesmanship. He followed the king to the battlefield and commanded several detachments of the army<sup>3</sup>.

We also obtain a few glimpses of the Secretariat. Already in the fifth century there is a mention made of the private secretary (*rahasyādhlkṛita*) under the Kadamba king Mandhātrivarmma<sup>4</sup>. But for a detailed account of the promulgation of the royal decrees and orders we have to go to the Chōla records. The royal secretary is here mentioned as "communicating the king's order to the chief secretary and he, on approval, transmitted them to the revenue officers to be carried out. These then assembled the revenue accountants, who made entries in their revenue registers"<sup>5</sup>. The latter very probably corresponded to the *kaḍita* used in the Hoysala times. For a record belonging to these rulers avers that among his conquests Vishṇuvardhana wrote down the Banavasi Twelve Thousand in his *kaḍita*<sup>6</sup>.

In times of peace one of the chief functions of the monarch was the administration of justice. It is perfectly reasonable to hold that the king did not generally dispense justice at the first instance, but that the final decision rested with him. We come across in the records the officer called *dharma-adhayaksha* or the chief justice<sup>7</sup>, which naturally implies that there were minor judicial officers under him. It is possible that the kind of cases that came under the jurisdiction of each of these judges was clearly defined. Cases of great consequence only were dealt with personally by the king. For instance when Padmanābha, an influential Vaishṇava Brahman happened to steal the ornaments of the god Nṛsiṃha that were kept in his house, he was brought to book by King Jayakēśi II, and the equivalent of the stolen orna-

<sup>1</sup> E. I., XIII, p. 313.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 136; VIII, Sa, 45.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 29.

<sup>5</sup> E. C., X, KI, 111, 112a. Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 172.

<sup>6</sup> E. C., V, BI, 17. Cf. Rice, l. c.

<sup>7</sup> E. I., XV, p. 81.

ments was recovered by selling his property <sup>1</sup>. It will be seen from this incident that the punishment that was inflicted was in proportion to the gravity of the offence, and that the penalty was quite reasonable. The law strictly forbade the assault of one person by another, even though the man assaulted happened to be a thief, robber, burglar, enemy, or evil-minded person. The penalty imposed for such an offence was a fine of three gold gadyanas <sup>2</sup>.

Other records show that murder could be commuted by money payment and was visited by fines. The murderer gave a sum of 100 gadyanas to the relatives of the person assassinated, and in addition paid half as much to the state<sup>3</sup>. Ordeal by fire was esteemed a reliable means for ascertaining the truth <sup>4</sup>.

For purposes of efficient administration, the kingdom was divided into various administrative units. This was so even in the days of the early Kadambas. There were the provinces and the latter were again subdivided into districts. But they were not as many as one could expect in an extensive kingdom. The Empire at the height of its power seems to have consisted of only four provinces, the North, East, West and South, and the extent of its territories shows that these provinces were rather unwieldy. At the head of each of these there was a viceroy selected from among the members of the royal family. Thus in the reign of King Raghu his brother Kākusthavarmma was the Viceroy of the northern part of the Kadamba dominions, of which the city of Palasika was the administrative headquarters <sup>5</sup>, while the King ruled from Vaijayanti (Banavasi) which was always the principal capital of the Kadamba Empire. In the reign of Śāntivarmma we find two of his brothers, Kṛishṇavarmma and Kumāravarmma, ruling one in the South (Dakṣiṇāpatha), of which Triparvata was the capital, and the other in the east, of which Uchchangi was the seat of government <sup>6</sup>. The division of the Empire into these four large provinces was a political blunder on the part of the Kadamba emperors, for as we have seen, it directly led to the speedy

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa*, J.B.B.R.A.S., IX, p. 286.

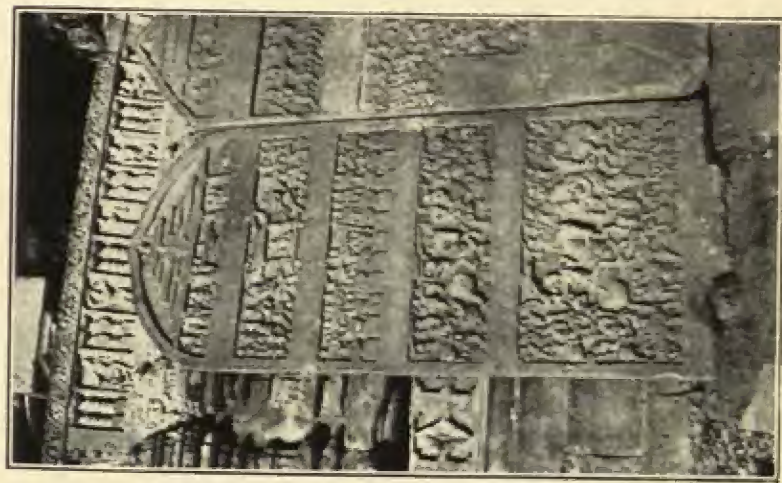
<sup>2</sup> E. I., XV, p. 80.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb. 80.

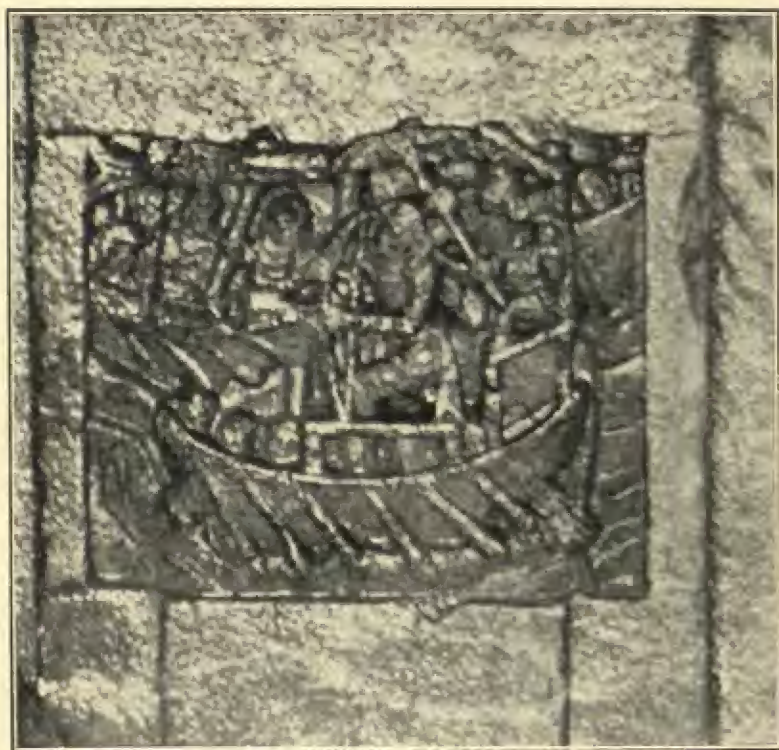
<sup>4</sup> Fleet, o. c., pp. 308-309.

<sup>5</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VI, p. 24.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Ante, pp. 36-38



23-24. Hāṅgal. Viragals at the Tarakūśvara Temple.



25. Old Goa. Fleet represented on a thirteenth century Viragal.



26. Halsi. The Jain Basti.

dismemberment of the empire. So long as a strong king was on the throne, the viceroys remained obedient to the central government, but soon after his death they set up as independent sovereigns in their respective provinces<sup>1</sup>. The smaller administrative divisions that existed at this time were the districts, like the Suddikundura<sup>2</sup>, which evidently formed part of the provinces, and the towns and villages which composed the districts.

We do not hear of the clearly defined divisions like the Banavasi Twelve Thousand, Palasika (Halsi) Twelve Thousand, Sāntalige Thousand, and Pānūngal Five Hundred in this period. In fact these divisions came into vogue only with the Rāshtrakūṭa hegemony. These kings completely changed the system of administration then prevailing in the country. One of their wholesome reforms was to do away with the large provinces and to divide the country into smaller ones, to each of which they attached its revenue value<sup>3</sup>. Thus while Banavasi and Halsi were 12,000 provinces, and Sāntalige was 1,000, the revenue value of Hāngal was 500.

The Rāshtrakūṭas, we have already observed, ruled their kingdom by means of governors. These governors generally bore the name of mahāsāmantas, which according to Mr. Rice connotes control over feudatory chiefs. But in the case of the Rāshtrakūṭa governors it was a mere title and bore no such significance. For the inscriptions of these kings, of the period of which we are speaking, do not allude to the feudatory chiefs under them. The governor was assisted by officers like the nāḍ-perggade or the commissioner of the country and the nāḍ-gavuṇḍa in charge of smaller divisions<sup>4</sup>.

The administrative system of the Chalukyas of Kalyāni slightly differed from that of the Rāshtrakūṭas. Though the administrative units retained their old characteristics, their government seems to have become more elaborate. The Chalukyas unlike the Rāshtrakūṭas, had under them many feudatories. These were the hereditary rulers of parts of the Chalukya Empire and they actual-

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Sancrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VI, pp. 24, 25, 27, 31.

<sup>3</sup> This is one of the explanations that has been offered. According to the other interpretation this number refers to the number of villages constituting the province.

<sup>4</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 219.

ly owned the territories they ruled. Further they exercised supreme authority in their respective kingdoms, and even possessed the right of waging war with each other. The latter privilege rendered them almost equal in status to the independent sovereigns. One of such feudatories was the Kadamba family now divided into various branches. The Emperor asserted his supremacy over the subordinate chiefs by appointing governors from time to time to collect the customs duties in their kingdoms. The governor thus appointed ruled in a dual capacity, that of a customs officer and of a political agent. The importance of this office can be made out from the fact that even ministers were appointed as governors<sup>1</sup>. The subordinate rulers did not pay to the Emperor any tribute in money, but permitted his governor to collect the regalia, which amounted to acknowledging his overlordship. These officers were styled *danḍanāyakas*, a title which denotes both civil and military rank<sup>2</sup>. They also bore the designation of *sāmāntādhipati* on account of the control they exercised over the feudatories<sup>3</sup>. The governors, it is natural, had subordinate officials to help them in their work. One of them, very often mentioned in the records, is the *perggade*<sup>4</sup>. They also seem to have had the *nāḍ-gūṇḍas* or *naḷ-prabhus* under them<sup>5</sup>. But it is not clear whether these were the imperial officials or the officers of the king who also undertook the work of collecting the customs for the governor. For they often appear in the inscriptions as the dependents of the king<sup>6</sup>. The imperial taxes may be classified under the heads of *perjjunka* or *hejjunka*, *vaddarāṇḷa*, *kirukula*, *bilkode* and *pannaya*<sup>7</sup>. *Hejjunka* which literally meant the large sunka was the customs duty on chief articles of trade. What *vaddarāṇḷa* and *pannaya* were, is not clear from the records, though the meaning of the words suggests a tax on water-supply and on the income of betel leaves<sup>8</sup>. *Kirukula*

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 192, 136, 297.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Sk, 13, 48, 95, 98, 104, 111, 131, 137, 170, 236, 246, 275, 311 and others. E. C., VIII, Sb, 292.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 111, 131, 137, 246, 294, 297, 13, 98; VIII, Sb, 336, 388.

<sup>4</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 192; VIII, Sb, 70; E. I., XV, p. 81; VII, p. 214.

<sup>5</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 199, 465, 377, 359, 414, 346, 346, 325, 179, 485; VII, Sk, 219; E. I., XV, p. 81.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 11, 192, 13, 48, 95, 98, 100, 104, 111, 131, 137, 170, 236, 246, 275, 311; VIII, Sb, 299, 236, 388.

<sup>8</sup> I owe this information to Prof. Kundangar. *Vadda* is the corruption of *Vardha* which means growing water. Hence tax on lands grown in the water by the side of the river.

was the tax on the miscellaneous duties on articles in which the transactions were small<sup>1</sup>. The bilkode was a tribute paid by the townspeople.

The emperor occasionally sent one or two of his nobles on a tour through the Empire, probably to supervise the work of the governors and to know the real state of affairs in the country. The inscription of Śāntivarmma, which gives this information records that "Bhuvanaikamalla-Pallava-Pērmanādi Vishṇuvar-dhana (?) Vijayāditya . . . made a tour of state for King Bhuvanai-kamalla", in concert with mahamaṇḍalēśvara Vikramāditya-dēva, very likely the brother of the latter<sup>2</sup>.

The Kadamba mahamaṇḍalēśvaras ruled their kingdom with the help of their governors and other administrative officials. The governor seems to have been almost always a member of the royal family, either a brother or an uncle of the reigning king<sup>3</sup>. Often they reigned conjointly<sup>4</sup>. But when the close relations of the king could not be had, an ordinary minister was appointed for the office<sup>5</sup>. The governor, thus appointed exercised both the executive and the military functions. He was the head of the government and commander of the army<sup>6</sup>. These governors were in charge of districts such as Banavasi and Halsi.

The district was divided into smaller units called the kampaṇa<sup>7</sup>. The official in charge of the latter was known as the *manneya*<sup>8</sup>.

Very little information can be gleaned from the inscriptions regarding the sources of revenue of the mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras. One of the Kadamba records suggests that the sixth share was the king's share<sup>9</sup>. We may infer from this that the assessment of land was 1/6 of the total produce. Other sources of revenue seem to be the taxes on oilmen, oil-mills, beasts of burden, and betel-leaves<sup>10</sup>. The exchequer was also replenished by an impost called bīravaṇa<sup>11</sup>, and a tax on salt<sup>12</sup>. Important information is furnished

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Mysore Gazetteer*, I, p. 466.

<sup>2</sup> *E. I.*, XVI, p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Sa, 45.

<sup>5</sup> *E. I.*, V, p. 257.

<sup>6</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Sa, 71; Sb, 567, 325, 326, 328; XI, Dg, 32.

<sup>7</sup> *E. C.*, IV, Hs, 18.

<sup>8</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 510.

<sup>9</sup> *E. I.*, XV, p. 80. The nature of this tax is unknown, says Dr. L. D. Barnett.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 328.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. ante, pp. 199, 206.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Sa, 71; Sb, 416.

by the Goa charter of Jayakēśi I, which enumerates the customs duties levied on ships calling at that port from various countries. The accompanying table gives the names of the countries from which the ships came and the duties which each had to pay. The second table shows how transactions in the city were regulated, and how the coffers of the king were enriched by taxing these transactions. It appears that the village artisans such as the carpenter, goldsmith, barber, blacksmith, potter, etc., were also taxed<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> *E. I.*, V, p. 199.

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Part of India from which the vessel comes	The name of the country to which it belongs	Kind of vessel	Place of anchor	Duty
South-east	1) Malay	Ordinary ships	.....	One gaddiannaca coin each
	2) Duluas	Parangues or Pallas Parangues	As far as Gōkarṇa, the bathing place	5 drachmas each
North	1) Sourashtra	Pallas	.....	1 drachma each
	2) Gurjara	Parangue	.....	1 gaddiannaca
	3) Ladda	"	.....	"
	4) Lands of Koṅkaṇ	"	.....	"
	5) " " Veimullie	"	.....	"
	6) Chipalona	{ Parangue & Galvetta	.....	{ 5 drachmas & 2 drachmas
	7) Sangamesvar		.....	
	8) Velliapatam	Small parangue	.....	1 drachma
1) Pindianna	.....			
Chandrapur	2) Shivapur	Small parangue	.....	
Vessels sailing on the rivers branching off from the main stream	Kind of vessel. Parangue Manchu 1/4 Small vessels	Kind of cargo. Victuals " " "	Duty.	
			One curo of greatmark(?) of the House of Mercy	
Measure. One gune "	Kind of cargo Victuals Spices All kinds of metals gold & silver	Tax. One mane, i. e. 2 ordinary measures. 1/4 mao given by the purchaser, the seller, &	1/8 of the above curo	
			Weight. 1 bhar (34 1/2 hands (mao) & some surs)	

The transactions in the city were regulated, and the seller as well as the buyer of a ship was made to pay one coin called gaddiannaca.

<i>Kd. of goods sold</i>	<i>Tax paid by the seller</i>	<i>Tax paid by the purchaser</i>
Ship	One gaddiannaca	One gaddiannaca
Parangue	5 drachmas	5 drachmas
Mane (boat)	2 "	2 "
House	1 "	1 "
Palmgrove	1 "	1 "

A part of the revenue which the king thus obtained was utilised for the upkeep of the Department of Charities<sup>1</sup>. The Goa charter of Jayakēśi I, above referred to, informs us that the customs duties levied on ships were made over to the council of management of the House of Mercy, which, as we know, was founded by the King's minister Sadano. It was also settled that the property of the native or foreign merchants who died without issue, should, after deducting the expense of the funeral, go to the House of Mercy and not to the king. Out of the money thus bequeathed, the managers of the House were to perform the obsequies of poor and helpless persons<sup>2</sup>. The other work that was undertaken by the House of Mercy was probably to supply the poor and the needy with food and even with medical attendance, if they happened to be suffering from bodily ailment.

Closely connected with the burden of taxation and the revenue of the king are the units of measure, that were employed in the country, and the kinds of land tenure in use. The Śātakarṇṇi inscription of the second century, to which reference has already been made, alludes to an officer called the *rauḥkam*, a word which, as it means the holder of the rope, suggests that he was a survey officer. The instrument used for this purpose was generally a pole<sup>3</sup> of which different kinds are mentioned in the records. Thus there was the *dānachintāmaṇi* pole which measured 13 spans<sup>4</sup>, the *bhēruṇḍa* pole perhaps of the size of the Bhēruṇḍēśvara pillar<sup>5</sup>, the rood of Kundi<sup>6</sup>, the *daṇḍa* or the staff of the royal standard<sup>7</sup> the *kachchavi* pole<sup>8</sup>, the

<sup>1</sup> E.I., XV, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> Archivo, l. c.

<sup>3</sup> E.C., VII, Sb, 359.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa*, J.B.B.R.A.S., IX, p. 276.

<sup>5</sup> E.C., VII, Sk, 120. Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 172.

<sup>6</sup> E.I., XIII, p. 35.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 175.

<sup>8</sup> E.C., VIII, Sb, 317.

staffs of *Dānavānōda* and Oranta-Malla<sup>1</sup>, and the king's own measuring rod<sup>2</sup>. The units of measure for the area were the *nivarthana*<sup>3</sup>, *matta*<sup>4</sup>, and *kamma*<sup>5</sup>. The relation between these is not clear from the records, but we may say none the less, that the *Kamma* was the smallest unit<sup>6</sup>. Other measures that were used were the *sorige*<sup>7</sup> and *maṇa*<sup>8</sup> for oil; *sollage* for measuring paddy, *adda* for husked rice<sup>9</sup>, *Koḷaga* for rice<sup>10</sup>, and *māna* for black pepper<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *E.I.*, XII, p. 290. 340.

<sup>2</sup> *E.I.*, IV, p. 208.

<sup>3</sup> *E.I.*, V, p. 8; VI, p. 15; *E.C.*, V, Bl, 243, VI, Kd, 162; Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VI, pp. 25, 29; Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa*, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, IX, pp. 272, 276.

<sup>4</sup> *E.I.*, XIII, p. 58; *E.C.*, VII, Sk, 120; Sb, 44.

<sup>5</sup> *E.I.*, XIII, pp. 35, 55; Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Kadamba King of Goa*, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, IX, p. 276.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 277.

<sup>7</sup> *E.C.*, VII, Sk, 236.

<sup>8</sup> Fleet, *o.c.*, p. 302.

<sup>9</sup> *E.I.*, XIII, p. 26.

<sup>10</sup> *E.C.*, V, Mj, 18.

<sup>11</sup> *E.I.*, XIII, p. 26.

## CHAPTER III

### Social Life

**T**he social life in medieval Kārṇāṭaka centred round the village. As the principal occupation of the people was the cultivation of land, their settlements were naturally in the country. It appears that like all agricultural settlements in ancient times, these villages too were divided into three parts: the village proper, the arable land and the pasture<sup>1</sup>.

The first consideration of the colonizers was evidently the selection of suitable locality for their dwelling. As their chief industrial pursuit was agriculture, they selected a site which had easy access to water. Hence the choice, as far as possible, always fell in favour of places along the river banks. This is evident from the fact that all the ancient well-known settlements in Kārṇāṭaka were on the banks of streams, like Banavasi on the Varadha, Kudarōḷi on the Malaprabha, and so forth.

Next came the allotment of the site among the different classes of people constituting the community. It is not unreasonable to hold that members of each caste and profession established their habitation in one place. There is express mention in the records of Brahman quarters in the village<sup>2</sup>. It is possible that as in the present day villages in the Kanarese country, there were separate localities for carpenters, potters, goldsmiths, braziers, and black-smiths. The untouchables were naturally assigned a locality far away from the common habitation.

Every village in Kārṇāṭaka was a self-governing unit, and independent of every other community. It had its own priests, temples, carpenters, smiths and barbers<sup>3</sup>. For administering

<sup>1</sup> *E.I.*, XII, p. 290; *E.I.*, XVII, p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> *E.I.*, XV, p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> *E. I.*, V, p. 199. Cf. Altekar, *A History of Village Communities in Western India*, pp. 76-78.

the affairs of the village there were the *gauḍa* and the village *pañchāyat* which seem to have been invested with executive and judicial powers. They discharged their executive duties by undertaking improvements in the village. This probably included the repair and construction of tanks and canals<sup>1</sup>, and conducting the defence of the village. By virtue of their judicial powers, they were very likely authorised to decide small disputes that arose from time to time among the villagers. Serious crimes were of course tried by the official tribunals of the king<sup>2</sup>. Finally the *gauḍa* and the *pañchāyat* also saw that the grants of land or money made by kings, governors or any other person to the institutions in the village were properly administered<sup>3</sup>.

For settling extraordinary matters it was necessary to call a meeting of all the villagers. Thus we learn from an inscription in the Sorab Taluqua that the Thousand of Kumbise village came to an understanding among themselves and, fixed "the paddy of two channels" as assessment "on a *matṭar* of low land on the old channel"<sup>4</sup>. Further, the Mantravāḍi inscription of the time of Amūghavarsha I, informs us that a meeting of the villagers was convened, of which Nāga-dēva was elected president, to decide some matter connected with the grant made by the forty *mahājanas* of Elpuṇuse, the *Gorava* moni and the managers of the Elamvalli temple to the honourable Gōkarnapaṇḍita-dēva<sup>5</sup>. The inscriptions also tell us that whenever a member of the community did a public work calculated to confer benefits on the whole village, his services were rewarded by the general assembly, which granted him a plot of land<sup>6</sup>. Similarly the general assembly made grants of gifts to the families of heroes who died, while recovering the cattle from robber gangs or troops that sometimes raided the village<sup>7</sup>. It is pleasing to note in this connection that even the services rendered by servants were commemorated<sup>8</sup>.

We have already remarked that these village settlements were mainly agricultural. The cultivators distinguished the land accord-

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 359, 132.

<sup>2</sup> Mention is made of a chief justice. Cf. ante, p. 263.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Sb, 83.

<sup>5</sup> E. I., VII, p. 202.

<sup>6</sup> *Passim* in inscriptions of E. C.

<sup>7</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 6, 12, 47, 221, 229, 412, 414, VII, Hi, 47, and others.

<sup>8</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 128.

ing to the quality of the soil as *makki* land, red black land, black loam land, rice land and so on<sup>1</sup>. The epigraphical records make mention of three kinds of tenures under which the farmers held the land: the *sarvanamasya*<sup>2</sup>, the *tribhōga*<sup>3</sup> and the *taḷa-vritti*<sup>4</sup>. The meaning of *sarvanamasya* seems to be that the holders of land probably paid land tax at the time of making obeisance to the god. *Tribhōga* was a joint tenure enjoyed by three distinct parties, e. g. a private person, a god or gods and the Brahmans<sup>5</sup>; while the meaning of *taḷa-vritti* tenure is not clear from the records.

Though the Kadamba kingdom was essentially an agricultural country, there were none the less a few flourishing towns. The most important of these were Gōpakapuri, Beḷagāmi, Banavasi, Halsi, Veḷugrāma (Belgaum) and others. We shall speak in a later chapter about the commercial activities of some of these cities. It now remains for us to say a few words about their municipal organization.

It may be inferred from the inscriptions that all important towns had a corporation and a town mayor called the *paṭṭaṇasāvi*<sup>6</sup>. But these records do not specify the duties of the mayor and the corporation. It is probable that they looked after the public health, maintained houses of charity, repaired roads and bridges and undertook such work as is done by the municipalities of the present day.

The kings often granted special constitutions to the towns. Thus the town of Lakshmēśvar received a charter from the prince Vikramāditya. According to this statute, every occupied house had to pay a tax to the governors in the month of Vaiśākha. For meeting the expenses of a feast it was settled that the highest households should pay ten paṇas, the intermediate households seven paṇas, lower five paṇas and the lowest three. It was also specified in the charter that fines for theft and the minor delinquencies, fines for the ten offences, and the so-called property of childless persons should be paid into the guild there in the month of Kārttika<sup>7</sup>. Likewise the statutory constitution granted to the town of

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Sb, 35-39; E. I., IV, p. 355; XII, p. 290; XV, p. 334.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VI, Sk, 100; E. I., XIII, p. 216; XV, p. 345.

<sup>3</sup> E. I., XV, pp. 334, 345; XVII, p. 123.

<sup>4</sup> E. I., XII, p. 290; Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa*, J.B.B.R.A.S., IX, p. 275.

<sup>5</sup> Fleet, *Honwad Inscription of Somesvara*, I. A., XIX, p. 271.

<sup>6</sup> E. I., XIII, p. 336; E. C., VII, Sk, 123.

<sup>7</sup> E. I., XIV, p. 190.

Sūdi by Akkā-dēvi laid down that the shops and houses were to have their four sides of access situated in the lands of Kargambāḍu. Such houses were immune from all imposts including land-rent for two srahes (two years). After this they were to be charged with *sarv-āya* annually. Finally they were to pay affixed land-rent of eighteen gold gadyāṇas to the department of charities. The constitution of the eight Setṭis was not to apply to the country and *vice versa*. Within the Kisukād Seventy the land-plots were to be immune from all tolls with the *bira-vaṇa*. The father was not to be held responsible for the guilt of the son, nor the guilt of the father be attached to a son. Within the town lost property had to be made good by the *ara-talāṇa*<sup>1</sup>. If one strike with a weapon, a thief, robber, burglar, enemy, (or) evil-minded person under a shop, screen, (or) veranda, there would be imposed a fine, but no guilt. The fine upon the striker would be three gold gadyāṇas. The inscription tells us that this was the renewal of their corporate constitution which had partly broken down in the stress of the war with the Chōlas<sup>2</sup>.

The chapter on social life is not complete without a brief mention of the manners and customs of the people who lived in these towns and villages. It may be maintained that the life of the people in Kaṇṇāṭaka under the Kadambaras did not radically differ from the one that is led by the people there at the present day. The numerous viragals and mastikals that are strewn about the country show us that men wore a *dhoti* as they do in our days, and left the upper part of their body uncovered. They tied a turban round their head which was very much like the present-day *pagri*<sup>3</sup>. It could also be seen from the viragals that men wore their hair tied in a knot behind. A viragal which we unearthed near the Kappe Bhami, Hāṅgal, shows that the warriors wore large earrings. (Pl. 15) This is confirmed by an inscription at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa, which alludes to Bijjala's capturing the jewelled ear-rings and the rutting elephants and all other possessions of the lord of the

<sup>1</sup> Probably a town crier.

<sup>2</sup> E. I., XV, p. 80.

<sup>3</sup> There is a mastical at Golihalli which contains a beautiful representation of a man with his wives who committed sati when he died. Here the man is wearing a turban which is exactly like the *pagries* we see the people using nowadays in the country. The mastical could not be photographed, as we arrived at this village rather late in the evening.

Vanavasi country<sup>1</sup>. The masticals suggest that the dress of the women was the time-honoured *saree* and they covered the breast with the bodice. This is quite evident from the sculptures on the memorial tablet commemorating the demise of queen Lichchavi-dēvi. (Pl. 17) She is represented here as wearing a crown on her head. Her wrists are decked with bangles her arms with armlets and her legs with anklets. The fine male figures standing before her are represented as receiving some reward. These were probably the persons who laid down their lives on the death of the Queen. The *apsaras* are seen in breeches in all the viragals. They also seem to have left their breast bare, as may be seen from the viragal at Mavali and the memorial tablet of Lichchavi-dēvi. These details suggest that this was probably the dress of the courtesans. The inscriptions tell us that the latter also wore waistbands and belts round their hips, and the various parts of their body were bedecked with ornaments, among which earrings, neck-laces, and arm-lets are some most commonly mentioned<sup>2</sup>. The sculptures on the walls of the Degamve temple that represent dancing girls with round looking glasses in their hands denote that the women of those days used hand mirrors. (Pl. 37)

About the entertainments of the people the epigraphical records give us glimpses of plays and dramas that were staged in the *mathas* and the *agrahāras*<sup>3</sup>, of dancing and music of courtesans<sup>4</sup>, and the troops of bands. The musical instruments in vogue were the guitar, the flute<sup>5</sup>, the *katumukhavādītra*, the *samudraghōṣa*<sup>6</sup>, *tiuli*<sup>7</sup>, *permatti*, *lurya*<sup>8</sup>, and the drum<sup>9</sup>. It may be inferred from the viragal at Mavali of about A. D. 800 that dancing was not restricted to the class of courtesans, but was regarded as one of the fine arts and accomplishments in which all-classes of people participated. This viragal represents the hero dancing with the *apsaras* in heaven.

There is one important difference noticeable about the customs

<sup>1</sup> E. I., VI, p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 106.

<sup>3</sup> E. I., XIII, p. 57.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 33.

<sup>5</sup> E. C., IV, Mj, 18.

<sup>6</sup> E. I., IX, p. 206.

<sup>7</sup> E. I., VI, p. 106.

<sup>8</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 176.

<sup>9</sup> E. C., V, Mj, 18.

of the people in the time of the Kadambas and those prevailing in Kaṇṇāṭaka at the present time. There is no evidence at all in the records of child marriages. The girls were married after the attainment of puberty, and it appears that the young people were left free to select their own match. There are also instances of the custom of *svayamvara*, which consisted in the bride choosing for herself a suitable husband. Thus we are told in the *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita* that having heard that a *svayamvara* had been proclaimed for Chandralēkha or Chandola-dēvi, the beautiful daughter of the Śilāhāra prince Karahāṭa, Vikramāditya hastened to the festival, and the princess who had fallen in love with him because of his valiant deeds, chose him for her husband. The same work informs us that many princes attended the *svayamvara*, chief among whom were those of Ayodhyā, Chedi, Kanyakubja, Kālinjara, Mālava and Gurjara<sup>1</sup>. Another incident that has greater interest for the history of the Kadambas is the fact narrated by Hēmachandra in his *Dvalasharāya* that Mañanalla-dēvi, the daughter of Jayakēśi I, the King of Chandrapura (Goa), fell in love with the handsome king Karṇa Rāja and went to the latter's capital to marry him<sup>2</sup>. The point to be noted here is that maidens in those days enjoyed good deal of freedom in selecting their husbands, and consequently married the man of their choice. The instances quoted above also show that love marriages were not uncommon.

The enormous number of mastikals in the country ruled by the Kadambas, points out that *sati*, or the burning of a widow with the dead body of her husband, was largely practised in Kaṇṇāṭaka. These mastikas are sometimes sculptured with the effigy of a female figure, pointing its hand bent at the elbow towards heaven. Sometimes they show only the hand bent upwards and holding a lime fruit between the thumb and the fore-finger. (Pl. 16) The inscriptional evidence of the practice of *sati* is furnished by a record in the Sorab Taluqua, which avers that when Ravivarmma died one of his queens 'obtained mukti' i. e., became *sattī*<sup>3</sup>.

Another instance of self-sacrifice met with in the inscriptions, is the committing of suicide by certain people on the death of the king or of the queen. Thus we gather from an inscription that when King Taila died, his political secretary (Tantrapāla) Boppana killed

<sup>1</sup> Bilhana, *Vikramāṅkadēvacharitra*, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> *Dvalasharāya*, I. A., IV, p. 233.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VIII, 5b, 523.

himself in fulfilment of the vow he had taken probably to live and die with the king<sup>1</sup>. Likewise, another record informs us that "when the dweller on the broad chest of the mahā-maṇḍalēśvara Sōvi-dēvarasa, the senior queen Lachchala-dēvi went to *svarga*,—fulfilling the vow he had previously uttered, saying, 'I will die with the Dēvi'— he (Boka) died." Mr. Rice infers from these records that beheading was the common method of dispatch in all such cases<sup>2</sup>. For the epigraph mentions that "on his master calling him, saying 'You are the brave man with great resolution have spoken of taking off your head', with no light courage Boka gave his head while the world applauded saying: 'He did so at the very instant'. The word spoken with full reserve is not to be broken"<sup>3</sup>. In both the cases a grant of land was made to the family of the man who made the self-sacrifice.

Vows of self-destruction were also entered into for the purpose of securing the accomplishment of a cherished object. We learn from an inscription in the Sorab Taluqua that a man vowed to give his head to a goddess at Hayve, if the King Śānti-varmma should obtain a son. A son having been born to the King the man surrendered himself to the soldiers who beheaded him. The King granted on this occasion a sum of 24 *heradramas* to the Brahmins presumably to perform his obsequies<sup>4</sup>. In 1123 a cow-hed, when Bopparasa and his wife paid a visit to a temple in the rice fields, vowed to give his head to swing on the pole before the god at Koṇḍasabhāvi on the event of the king obtaining a son<sup>5</sup>. A curious instance of suicide is afforded by an inscription at Belagāmi. We are told "in 1050 there was a man who vowed to continually pull out the nails of his finger in order to prevent the giving of a fort to a particular person. But his vow was of no avail, and the grant was made. Whereupon he cut off the finger, and climbing to the top of the Bhērūṇḍa pillar, threw himself down on a row of spear-shaped stakes and was killed"<sup>6</sup>. (Pl.18)

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VII, H1, 47.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 185.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Sk, 249.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Rice, L. C.

<sup>5</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 479.

<sup>6</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 245.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. Sk, 152. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg* etc. p. 187.

## CHAPTER IV

### The Art of Warfare

The king added to his office of supreme administrator and judge that of the commander-in-chief. It was expected of him that he should set an example of valour and courage to his followers. Hence the king as a general marched the armies personally to battle<sup>1</sup>. The officers under the king were the *jagadaḷa* or the generalissimo of the forces<sup>2</sup>, the *daṇḍanāyakas* who were probably in charge of different detachments, and the *nāyakas* or captains who commanded smaller divisions<sup>3</sup>.

The army consisted of foot, horse, elephant and chariot<sup>4</sup>. The fifth arm, the camel, is mentioned in a Hoysala inscription of 1262<sup>5</sup>. It is possible that the Yādavas, who were fighting against the Hoysalas in this period, imported this animal from the north, and its use as one of the chief arms of the corps was copied from the former by the Kapaṭāka rulers.

From the earliest times the elephants were deemed the most valuable section of the Indian host<sup>6</sup>, for as Kautilya observes, "it is on the elephants that the destruction of an enemy's army depends"<sup>7</sup>. Accordingly the many manly sports in which the kings exercised themselves included the riding of elephants<sup>8</sup>. But though they were a source of strength to their employers, the elephants were not infrequently a nuisance to their own party. For when they were scared or put to flight, they did untold damage to their employers as much as to the enemy.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ante, pp. 51, 179-184, and *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Sa, 45.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* Sb, 568.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Sa, 58.

<sup>5</sup> Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 272.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, *E. I.*, VI, p. 79; XIV, p. 308; etc.

<sup>7</sup> Shamasastri, *Kautilya's Arthasastra*, Bk. VII, Ch. 11, p. 351.

<sup>8</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VI, p. 38.

The cavalry was another important section of the army. No doubt India supplied the horses required but the latter were ranked inferior to the horses imported from Persia, Arabia and Afghanistan. Hence the mention in the inscription of horse dealers under the common name of Turushkas<sup>1</sup>. The viragals which throw important light on the arms of warfare used during this period, show that the steeds were provided with saddle and reins and their vulnerable parts like the neck and the loins, were covered by protective straps. They also show that the rider was clad *cap-a-pie* in a coat of mail. It is evident that such a cavalry was used in open battles where agility and swiftness were greatly desired. A viragal at Bidi shows that, some of the horses were protected by a steel armour. The coat of mail descended right up to the knees of the horse, and the rider put his legs under this covering. His breast was armoured with the breast-plate and his head with a flat helmet. The head of the horse was also well-sheathed against javelin thrusts by plates of steel. Each horseman carried a lance, a dagger, a sword and a buckler. (Pls. 15, 19-22).

That chariots were used as one of the arms of warfare by the Kadambas is obvious from their inscriptions<sup>2</sup>. But the viragals that have come to our notice do not contain representations of this vehicle. Hence in order to have a correct notion of them we have to examine a few of the Hoysala sculptures, for the weapons used by the latter kings were necessarily the same as those employed by at least the later Kadambas, the kingdoms of both dynasties being contiguous to each other. The friezes of the temples at Halebid contain sculptures of war scenes from the great epics, the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata*, carved with exquisite workmanship. Now these scenes, shown as they are with considerable energy and vividness of action are of great importance to the military history of medieval Kārnāṭaka, for the sculptors of these scenes naturally represented the wars of the epics in the manner the battles were being fought in their own days. Here the chariots are to be seen with one or two pairs of wheels and are drawn by horses. They were generally occupied by kings and generals. They have no railing along their sides. This seems to have been purposely designed so that the occupant might easily escape in the time of need. The two-wheeled chariots were usually light

<sup>1</sup> E.C., VII, Sk, 197.

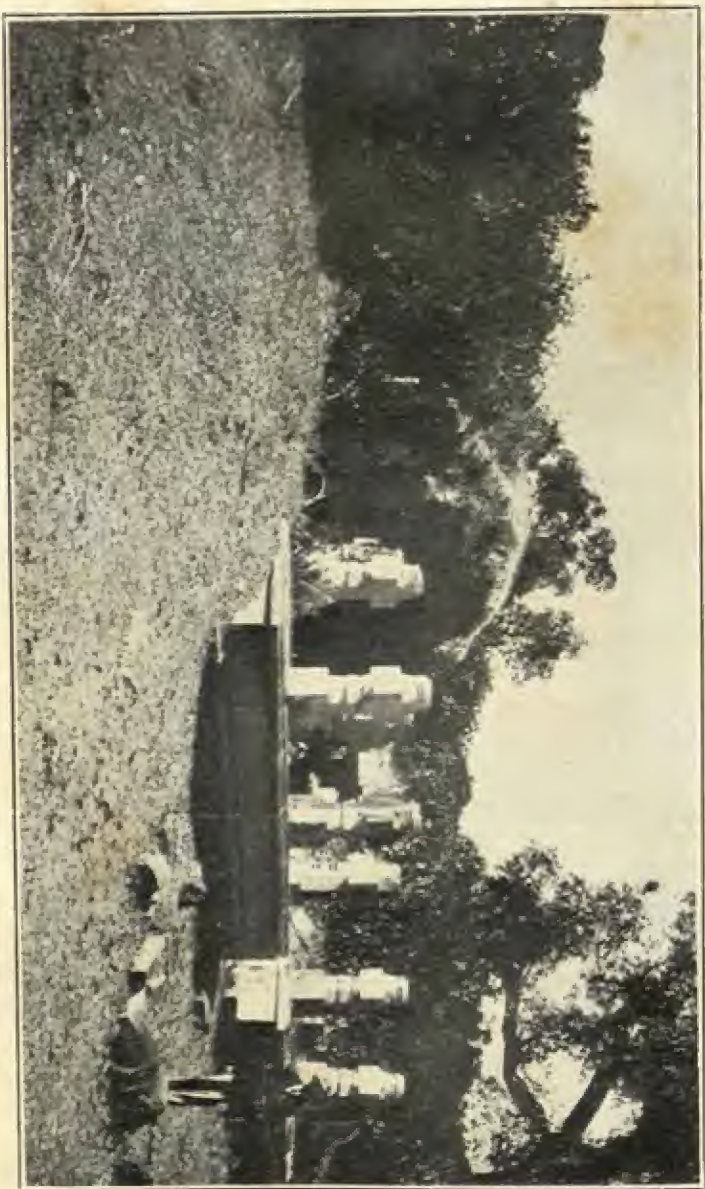
<sup>2</sup> E.C., VIII, Sa, 58.



27. Kadaroli. Śankara-dēva Temple.



28. Halsi. Rāmēśvara Temple.



29. Halebi. Kalleshvara Temple.

and were probably employed either when fleeing from the battle field or while pursuing the enemy. The chariots have a perpendicular staff on the back, on which is the emblem of the king. The chariots formed the vanguard of the army. The occupants discharged arrows when the enemy was at a distance, but when the occasion for a close hand-to-hand fight offered itself, they had recourse to the sword. The elevated position evidently gave them an advantage over the foot soldiers of the enemy<sup>1</sup>.

The infantry was probably composed of regular and irregular troops, and king's messengers and servants<sup>2</sup>. The regular troops probably constituted the standing army, while the irregular troops formed the militia. It could be seen from the viragals, above referred to, that the foot soldiers wore a flat helmet hanging down the ears on both sides. Their body was protected by steel armour, covering the arms and descending well below the knee. All the infantry carried the broadsword as their principal weapon. These were rather long, sometimes straight and sometimes slightly curved. Their shields were round, and had rings in the inside to be fixed on the forearm. In addition they were armed with either javelin, or bow and arrows. The latter was either a cross-bow or a long one. If it was a long bow the arrow was probably discharged, as Dr. Smith observes, "with the aid of pressure from the left foot on the extremity of the bow resting upon the ground, and with such force that neither shield nor breastplate could withstand it"<sup>3</sup>. (Pls. 11, 12, 15, 19-24). Catapults also seem to have been used.

Another important arm that was used by the Kadambas of Goa was the fleet. It was employed with great advantage for the conquest of islands and lands that could be reached by sea<sup>4</sup>. (Pl. 25)

An idea of the size of the armies might be obtained from an inscription in the Sorab Taluqua which records that in A. D. 1239 "Singhana-Simhana-Dēva's nāyakas... with 30,000 horses came and captured the hill-fort of Gutti"<sup>5</sup>.

The military band was made up of the kettle-drum, the battle-

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Heras, *Halebid, Bengal Past and Present*, XXXVIII, p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> *E. I.*, III, p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> Smith, *Early History of India*, pp. 131-132.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa, J.B.B.R.A.S.*, IX, p. 307; *E. I.*, XIII, p. 309.

<sup>5</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 319.

horns, and the conches. The kettle-drum was sounded when the army was marching<sup>1</sup>.

The army constituted an efficient fighting force. The viragals abounding in the country amply prove that bravery and skill were amply rewarded by the kings and the hero was given his meed of public recognition. "In battle", says Mr. Rice, "when victory hung in the balance, it was customary for the commander to call out some noted champion to lead a forlorn hope, and devote his life to gain the day"<sup>2</sup>. To be singled out for such an enterprize was deemed a great honour<sup>3</sup>, and the charge was confirmed with the presentation of betel leaf to the champion from the hand of the chief<sup>4</sup>. A grant was made to the family of the fallen man<sup>5</sup>. If he survived he was promoted to a higher rank and was rewarded with rich gifts of land<sup>6</sup>.

For the proper defence of the kingdom fortresses were built at all the strategic points in the country. One of such strongholds was the fort of Udhare<sup>7</sup>, which as has been suggested above, probably commanded the road to Hāngal. Another was that of Gutti which formed one of the outposts of Banavasi, the capital<sup>8</sup>. Then there were several minor citadels, like Andabaḷigattadurga<sup>9</sup>. The fortresses were generally built on an elevated position. The walls were constructed of cyclopean stones, which were put into shape so as to fit each other. A unique feature of their construction was that no mortar was used to keep them in position. The walls as seen at Banavasi were very thick with a base of about fifteen feet, and sloped towards the top at a height of 35 or 40 feet from the basement. (Pls. 3, 4) They were defended at intervals by ramparts and bars which rendered the scaling of the walls a very difficult affair<sup>10</sup>. It could be seen from one of the viragals at the Hāngal Tarakēśvara temple that the soldiers stood on the parapet behind the battlement which was crowned with merlons. (Pls. 23, 24) Through embrasures they hurled stones and other missiles at the besiegers. The wall was pierced by gates which were of course closed in the time of action. The whole citadel was surrounded by a deep ditch, that is still to be seen round the walls of Banavasi. The water supply of the fort was amply provided for by wells, tanks and pools.

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VIII, Sa, 45.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 171.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Sb, 468 Sa, 58; E. C., V, Mj, 53.

<sup>4</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 212.

<sup>5</sup> E. C., VIII, Sa, 71.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., Sb, 10; Sa, 45, etc.

<sup>7</sup> E. C., VIII, Sa, 84, 86.

<sup>8</sup> E. C., VIII, Sa, 71.

<sup>9</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 117.

<sup>10</sup> E. J., VI, p. 35.

## CHAPTER V

### Trade and Industry

Though the kingdom of the Kadambas was pre-eminently an agricultural country, it nevertheless, possessed a wealthy trading and industrial class among its inhabitants. Mention is often made in the inscriptions of a flourishing mercantile community that dealt in gold, silver, cotton cloth, victuals, paddy, pepper, fruits, oil spices, camphor, perfumes, betel leaves, and other such articles<sup>1</sup>. It may be inferred from the Goa charter of Jayakēśi I that Gōpaka-paṭṭana, his capital was one of the most important emporiums on the west coast. We learn from this document that the capital was the resort of traders hailing from distant countries such as Pandiat, Kerala, Chanda, Ganda, Bangala, Qheat, Gurger, Latta, Pusta, Srytan, Chendrapur, Sourashtra, Ladda, Konkan, Veimulie, Sangamesvar, Chippalona Shivapur, Pindianna, Vallapatam Sin-uhalla, Callah and Zangavar<sup>2</sup>. It may also be inferred from this record that at this time the Arab traders had already settled in Goa. They most likely traded in horses which they imported from Arabia, Persia and Afghanistan. That they carried on a roaring business is evident from the frequent mention in the inscriptions of the Turushkas by which designation they were usually known<sup>3</sup>. The existence of this heterogenous trading community is a tangible proof that the volume of trade that was carried on at this place was indeed very large.

About the industries that flourished in the Kadamba dominions, it is implied in the records that the most important were spinning, weaving, masonry, brass works, carpentry, jewelry, iron works, basket making and the extraction of oil<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *E. I.*, XIII, pp. 26, 174, 309; *Gabinette Literario das Fontainhas*, 1, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

<sup>3</sup> *E. I.*, XV, pp. 86, 91, 99, 104.

<sup>4</sup> *E. I.*, XII, p. 333; *Fleet, Inscriptions Relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa*, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, IX, p. 302.

The trade of the country was mainly in the hands of three classes of dealers, namely indigenous, itinerent and foreign. The inscriptions also speak about a fourth class called the protected merchants<sup>1</sup>, but these seem to be no other than the foreigners, mentioned above, who probably traded under the king's protection.

An interesting account of Brahman merchants is afforded by an inscription in the Arsikere Taluqua of the Hassan District. We are informed that one of these merchants imported horses, elephants and pearls in ships by sea and sold them to the kings<sup>2</sup>. It is not possible to determine from this inscription whether they had direct dealings with merchants in Arabia or they bought the horses which the Arab traders imported to Goa.

We also learn from the records that the mercantile classes were included in the term *Vira-Bananjudharmma*, at the head of which were the *svamis* of *Āryyāvale*<sup>3</sup>.

In many cities trade and industries were regulated by guilds. Little information is however yielded by the inscriptions about the origin of the guild system. Hence we are not in a position to say whether it was an indigenous organization or was imported from elsewhere. However the mention of corporate activity among traders and craftsmen in ancient literature of Northern India and their organization into guilds with the *Sreshthi* at the head<sup>4</sup>, may suggest that the system in its organized form was probably introduced into Kaṇṇāṭaka from the North. Nevertheless it stands to reason to suppose that some form of commercial organization did exist in Kaṇṇāṭaka before the establishment of the guild system. However this may be the organization steadily developed in the country and served here the purpose of protecting the interests of the indigenous traders and craftsmen against foreign competitors. We know from the inscriptions that there were in every town many foreign traders. The Goa charter of Jayakēśi I tells us that the mercantile community in that city consisted of traders from all quarters<sup>5</sup>. We know from the Belgaum inscription of the Raṭṭa chieftain Kartavīrya-dēva that the traders there included foreign settlers from Lāḷa, i.e. Lata, Gujerat and Maleyalam country<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> E.C., V, Ak, 22.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Ak, 77; E.C., VII, Sk, 118; IV, Hg, 17; V, Bl, 117; IX, DB, 31; Hk, 137. Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 182.

<sup>4</sup> *Jarudapana Jataka*, Cowell, *Jatakas*, p. 294.

<sup>5</sup> *Gabinette Literario das Fontainhas*, I, pp. 18-19.

<sup>6</sup> E.I., XIII, p. 26.

The guilds that flourished in mediaeval Kaṇṇāṭaka may be classed under two broad divisions, the merchant guilds and the craft guilds. However it must not be supposed, that all the merchants in the city, no matter in what articles they dealt, organized themselves into one guild, and all craftsmen irrespective of their trades into another. On the contrary merchants organized themselves after the commodities they sold. Thus for instance there was a guild of the fruit merchants<sup>1</sup>, another of clothiers<sup>2</sup>, and so on. Similarly there were separate craft guilds of stone-cutters, braziers, carpenters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, *berattumbar* weavers, potters and oil-mongers<sup>3</sup>. The various merchant guilds were affiliated to a central board, which administered the affairs common to all the merchant guilds in the city<sup>4</sup>. In the same way the craft guilds also were federated for discharging common functions<sup>5</sup>.

The epigraphical records do not explain the constitution and working of these guilds. Nevertheless we presume that the most important of their functions was the regulation of the economic life of the town. In directing the trade and industries, it is natural that the special interests of the members were always kept in view. It is evident from the records that the guilds also served as local banks and treasury. Thus we are told in the Lakshmēśvar inscription of Vikramāditya, of the Western Chalukya family of Badami, that the guild of braziers was authorised to receive the taxes from all classes of people and the time was fixed by the king for their payment<sup>6</sup>. We learn from the same record that the guilds were the centre of activity in the city. They celebrated the feasts<sup>7</sup>, and other religious functions, and probably made provision for plays and pageants for the entertainment of the citizens. Finally the guilds formed the most important organ of municipal self-government, for with them were invested the money that was granted to temples by kings and other wealthy citizens from the interest on which they had to fulfil the terms of the grants<sup>8</sup>. It

<sup>1</sup> *E. I.*, XIII, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 174.

<sup>3</sup> *E. I.*, XII, p. 333; V, p. 23; VI, p. 160, etc.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 272.

<sup>5</sup> *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 133.

<sup>6</sup> *E. I.*, VIX, p. 190.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *E. I.*, XII, p. 272.

may be inferred from the Sūḍi inscription of Akkā-dēvi that the guilds were given a separate constitution<sup>1</sup>.

The highly developed character of the guilds and the wide area over which they extended is made evident by the Mulgund inscription of Kṛishṇa II, of the Rāshtrakūta family, which records a grant made by four headmen of guilds of 360 cities<sup>2</sup>. Similar evidence is furnished by the Belgaum inscription of the time of the Raṭṭa chieftain Kartavīrya IV, which refers to a number of mercantile corporations and guilds<sup>3</sup>, and by the Niduguṇḍi inscription of the Kadamba Taila II, which mentions an organization of 505 merchants, making various grants in kind for religious purposes<sup>4</sup>.

Thus the guilds having spread all over the country rendered valuable service to the people by ministering to all their wants, economic, social, and religious.

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<sup>1</sup> *E. I.*, XV, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> *E. I.*, XIII, p. 194.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 26-27.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

## CHAPTER VI

### Education

Little information is obtainable from the epigraphical records about the institutions that imparted primary education in the country. No doubt provision was made in the monasteries<sup>1</sup> and the *agrahāras*<sup>2</sup> for the instruction of children, but it stands to reason to suppose that as these institutions were specialised in higher branches of study, not much attention could be bestowed on this part of their work. Hence it seems very likely that primary education was mainly in the hands of the village school masters or the *aigaḷs*, who taught in the *paṭhaśālas*, institutions which flourish even at the present day in places in Kaṇṇāṭaka that have not yet come under the influence of western culture. The course of instruction given in these primary schools consisted of reading, writing and arithmetic.

For receiving higher education the students betook themselves to the *agrahāra*, the *brahmāpuri* and the *maṭha*. There were also the congregations or colleges of learned men, called the *ghaṭikas*, where the youths received instruction<sup>3</sup>.

The most important of these establishments was the *agrahāra* consisting of a community of learned Brahmins, whose profound scholarship attracted students from distant places. Here education of an advanced type was disseminated to all and sundry, in all branches of human knowledge. It was here that people of diverse races and religions assembled<sup>4</sup>. The *agrahāras* may therefore be said to have constituted the real universities of mediaeval India the *studium generale* or the schools of universal learning.

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VII, Sk. 185; Dj, 39.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa*, J.B.B.R.A.S., IX, p. 275.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VII, Sk. 100.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Sk. 176.

The *agrahāra* was as a general rule situated in the country at some distance from the cities, and formed a unit by itself. The principle which was closely adhered to, while founding these educational institutes, was the selection of a site which was suitable for learned leisure. The choice always fell in favour of the villages. For here alone could be had the pure and cheerful atmosphere, the open and delightful spaces, the smiling meadows, the shady groves and the green fields waving with spontaneous verdure. However in course of time the *agrahāra* on account of its own importance and intercourse with the outside world, grew into a flourishing city. Thus the great *agrahāra* of *Belagāmi* was a town which, in all likelihood, grew after the establishment of the university. Yet the necessity of having a pleasant spot for the site of a university was always recognised. This is evident from the description given in the records of the *Belagāmi agra-hāra*. "Among the myriads of countries", so runs the inscription, "the famous *Kuntala* country is the best. In it the *Banavase-nāḍ* is the best; in which, if well considered, *Beḷḷigāve*, the treasury of good people, the mother of cities (*pattanangaḷa tavarmmane*) is the best, its fame being spread throughout the whole world bounded by the ocean. Being the sole abode of the learned (otherwise, the gods), it is like *Amarāvati*; being filled with happiness (otherwise, serpents), it is like the splendid *Bhōgavati-pura*; and in wealth may be compared with *Aḷakāpura*—thus celebrated through the sea-engirdled earth, what city can compare with *Beḷḷigāve*?"<sup>1</sup>. Similar terms are used in describing the *agrahāra* of *Kuppaṭūr*: "An ornament to the ocean-girdled earth was the *Kuntala* country, like a... to whose face was *Banavasi-nāḍ*, in which, beautiful was *Kuppaṭūr*, ever filled with Brahmins versed in the *Vēdas* and the *Sāstras*"<sup>2</sup>.

It may be ascertained from the epigraphical records that many of these *agrahāras* were state foundations. The main object underlying these institutions was the advancement of learning in the country. An early and important instance of this is the *agrahāra* of *Sthanakundur* (*Talagunda*), whose origin is lost in the mist of time. Tradition associated it with the mythical *Mukkanna* who is said to have brought thirty-two Brahman families from *Ahichchatra* and settled them at *Sthanakundur*, where they taught the people. While discrediting the story of the

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 100.

<sup>2</sup> E.C., VIII, Sb, 249.



30. Yalavatti. Kallameśvara Temple.



31. Yalavatti. The Jaina Basti.



32. Halasi. Varāha-Narasimha Temple, Vimāna.

emigration of the Brahmans from the north at the express wish and invitation of Mukkaṇṇa Kadamba, it may safely be maintained that the Brahmans did start the agrahāra after their emigration from the north, which took place much anterior to the rise of the Kadamba family. If this is acknowledged to be the real case, we may next conclude that the local tradition attributing the foundation to Mukkaṇṇa was created for the reason that other kings might imitate the example of this king<sup>1</sup>. Another agrahāra that was founded for the same purpose was, that of Degamve, which was built by Kamalā-dēvi, the Queen of Śivachitta, the Kadamba King of Goa<sup>2</sup>.

While advancement of learning in their kingdom was no doubt the ruling motive, the kings were no less swayed by the prevalent belief that the establishment of an agrahāra promoted the well-being of the founder in the life hereafter. Thus we are told in an inscription of Sōyi-dēva that being inclined to *dharmma* or the acquisition of merit, and "saying: 'Anandur must be an agrahāra' he gave directions" to his minister to do all that was needed to convert the village into a Brahman settlement<sup>3</sup>. The record of Sōma-bhūpa avers that by establishing an agrahāra he desired "to make his own birth bear fruit"<sup>4</sup>.

The land thus endowed was partly divided among the principal Brahman families, while the rest was set apart as endowment for the teaching of the different branches of study and a portion of this land was also made over to the temple of the agrahāra for meeting the expenses of religious service. The following tables are intended to give some idea of these endowments.

**The grant of Soma-Bhupa.**

<i>Object.</i>	<i>Details.</i>
Siddhēśvara temple.....	1 share.
Vēdas } .....	1 share.
Śāstras } .....	
Manager of the village.....	Certain lands.
67 Brahman family.....	1 share each.
<b>TOTAL.....</b>	<b>69 shares.</b>

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Sk, 186.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa*, J.B.B.R.A.S., IX, pp. 275-276.

<sup>3</sup> E.C., VIII, Sb, 346.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Sk, 117.

The grant of Kamala-devi.

10 Bhaṭṭopādhyāyas.....	1 share each.
9 Bhaṭṭopādhyāyas.....	$\frac{2}{4}$ share each.
13 Bhaṭṭopādhyāyas.....	$\frac{3}{4}$ share each.
God Śrī Katēśvara.....	5 shares.
God Śrī Kamalānārāyaṇa.....	5 shares.
Goddess Śrī Mahālakṣmī.....	3 shares.
Dining hall (for the expenses).	$3\frac{3}{4}$ shares.
For the right of(?) .....	3 shares.
For explaining Śāstras.....	1 share.
Rig-Vēda .....	$\frac{2}{4}$ share.
Yajur-Vēda .....	$\frac{2}{4}$ share.
Teaching children.....	$\frac{1}{2}$ share.
Drinking place and a place for fire .....	$\frac{1}{2}$ share.
For teaching Ghaṭi Kadhya ....	10 nivartanas and 388 kammās in rice field, 10 nivartanas and 500 kammās in a field yielding small grains, and 2 nivartanas and 720 kam- mās, in a field fit for betel plants.
For the tank.....	9 nivartanas and 422 kammās in rice field, and 8 nivarta- nas and 424 kammās in a field yielding grain.
For each sharer.....	A field measured by cow's hide
Narasimhabhaṭṭopādhyāya ....	$\frac{4}{8}$ share.
Īśvarabhaṭṭopādhyāya .....	$\frac{4}{8}$ share.
<b>TOTAL.....</b>	<b>50 shares.</b>

The same motives as actuated these kings to found the agra-  
hāras also prompted the subsequent rulers to endow them with  
money or lands or to remit the taxes. We read in an inscription  
in the Sorab Taluqa that the Kadamba King Goravarasa remitted  
the dues from the Brahmans of "the immemorial agraḥāra of Elase,  
in order that his senior queen, who had gone to *swarga* might  
have happiness" <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 67.

To help the professors to carry on their noble work, the Kadamba King Tailapa induced his overlord the Chalukya Emperor Sōmēśvara on the latter's visit to Beḷagāmi, to make a grant to the famous agrahāra of that city<sup>1</sup>. The agrahāra of Kuppaṭūr received substantial assistance from the Kadamba Kīrttivarmma and his Queen Mālala-dēvi<sup>2</sup>.

We said above that many of these agrahāras were founded by the state. While this is undoubted, it seems not less true to say that some at least of these did not owe their origin to any outside agency, but grew up of themselves. Wherever there were settlements of learned Brahmans, students from all quarters flocked to them to acquire knowledge at the feet of the savants. It is not improbable that in course of time these establishments developed into educational centres of the first rank, and they were granted all the privileges of the agrahāras which were royal foundations. Such seem to be the beginnings of the two famous agrahāras of Kuppaṭūr and Beḷagāmi in the Kadamba dominions. The inscriptions are silent about the origin of these agrahāras, though many of them speak of their patrons in the period of their prosperity.

Having spoken about the foundation and the nature of the agrahāra, it remains for us to examine its constitutions and the kind of life that was led by its citizens. It has already been pointed out that the agrāhara consisted of a corporate Brahman community, which administered the affairs connected with its management. The actual work of administration however, devolved on the assembly of the *mahājanas* or the leaders of the community<sup>3</sup>, whose number varied from two hundred to four hundred or more, according to the size of the *agrahāra*<sup>4</sup>. This assembly was presided over by the sheriff<sup>5</sup>. They exercised authority over the agrāhara and controlled properties that were attached to it. We have to mention here that the whole of the village occupied by the Brahmans was the property of the agrahāra. This becomes manifest from the inscription of Kīrttivarmma, which says that Mālala-dēvi before making the grant of land to the Jaina maṭha at the agrahāra of Kuppaṭūr, bought the land at

<sup>1</sup> E.C., VII, Sk, 100.

<sup>2</sup> E.C., VIII, Sb, 262, 263.

<sup>3</sup> E.I., XV, p. 76.

<sup>4</sup> E.I., XIII, pp. 57, 337.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 57.

this village from the Brahmins of the agrahāra for a price of 500 honnu, and then granted it to the maṭha<sup>1</sup>. In the same way the endowment of properties that was made from time to time by the sovereigns came directly under the control of the agrahāra authorities<sup>2</sup>; and soldiers and tax-collectors were expressly forbidden to encroach on them or to exercise any jurisdiction<sup>3</sup>.

The assembly, being an executive body, had to perform other civic functions as well. These probably included the maintenance of charitable institutions, celebration of the religious festivals, entertainment of strangers who visited the agrahāras, staging of plays, reading of the Purāṇas and the Vēdas in the assemblies, arranging of disputations and lectures and other work of this description. They also carried out the municipal duties, such as housing, sanitation, and the repair and construction of roads. Following the general trend of all Indian institutions, one may surmise that the organization and distribution of charities was the most important of the duties of these city fathers. Consequently we are not surprised to find in an inscription at Tumbarahosur that the sheriff of the agrahāra of Bhaṭṭara-Posavār purchased land in Hosavūr and granted it for a rest-house for strangers<sup>4</sup>. It is very likely that he gave this land in private charity; at any rate it gives us a clue to the understanding of the duties of these *mahājanas*. It may be gathered from other inscriptions that the money granted by the charity of kings and nobles to the agrahāra was invested with these leaders of the community and from the accruing interest they were to finance the various schemes scheduled in the endowment. Thus the Ittagi inscription of the time of the Chalukya Vikramāditya records that the General Mahādēvayya delivered "the property into the hands of the sheriff of the great agrahāra Ittagi and the rest of the four hundred mahājanas" specifying the various purposes for which the grant was made<sup>5</sup>.

An idea of the life in the agrahāras can be gathered from the various records that describe them as they were in the period of their glory. According to one of these inscriptions, the *mahājanas* of the Kuppajūr agrahāra were perfect in *yama*, *niyama*, *dhyāna*, *dhāraṇa*, *japa*, *mauna*, *svādhyāya*, and *samādhi*. They were profi-

<sup>1</sup> E.C., VIII, Sb, 252.

<sup>2</sup> E.I., XIII, pp. 57, 337; XV, p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> E.C., VII, Sk, 29.

<sup>4</sup> E.C., VII, Sk, 293.

<sup>5</sup> E. I., XIII, p. 56.

cient in the *Rig-Vēda*, *Yajur-Vēda*, *Sama-Aēda*, and *Atharva-Vēda*, the *Vēdangas*, the eighteen *Purāṇas* and *Smṛitis*, in music, in dialectics, in Vātsyāyana's *sūtras*, and in the knowledge of languages; they were versed in *nāṭakas* and rhetoric and took pleasure in offering food, medecines, assylum and knowledge of sciences; they were diligent in discharging the sixfold duties of the Brahman; they were like an adamant fortress in giving shelter to those that sought their protection"<sup>1</sup>. Other epigraphs aver that the Brahman in the agrahāras observed the major and minor disciplines and meditation, practised spiritual concentration, studied the scriptures and performed ablutions<sup>2</sup>. Another inscription tells us that the Brahman were expected to be men of principles immovable as a rock, hospitable, kind to their dependants and far from coveting other men's wives<sup>3</sup>. The same record gives us an interesting piece of information, when it observes that the *mahā-janas* of Lakkundi were leaders in battle<sup>4</sup>. This would imply that they were men who had trained themselves in warlike exercises, which is after all not very surprising in view of the fact that there are many instances in the records shewing that the Brahman of those days made no scruple to handle the sword. A viragal of 1141 A. D. informs us that in a fight that took place between the agrahāra of Kuppāṭūr and the neighbouring village of Nerilige on a dispute regarding the boundary of these villages, several men lost their lives<sup>5</sup>. In the following year another fight occurred between the same two villages with similar results<sup>6</sup>. A third viragal tells us that a battle was fought in 1218 between the armies of the mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Bappa-dēva and the one of Bamarasa on the Kuppāṭūr plain, and that Kēsiga, the retainer of the Kuppāṭūr agrahāra, who somehow got himself involved, lost his life<sup>7</sup>. Another viragal in the same locality records that Dosama rescued the Brahman of Kuppāṭūr who had been made prisoners by Bijjara-dēva Nāyaka on account of the wrong done by Jaga-dēvasahani, and succumbed to the injuries he received<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 249. (Canarese original) Cf. Subblah, *A Twelveth Century University in Mysore*, Q. J. M. S., VII, p. 166.

<sup>2</sup> E. I., XIII, pp. 57, 337.

<sup>3</sup> E. I., XV, p. 363; E. C., VIII, Sk, 100.

<sup>4</sup> E. I., XV, l. c.

<sup>5</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 253.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., Sb, 252.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. Sb, 255.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., Sb, 256.

The last but not the least important feature that has still to be described is the student community and the teachers. It is clear from the Beḷagāmi records that these scholars came from far off places, and consequently were of different races and creeds<sup>1</sup>. It must also be noted that the agrahāras sometimes contained maṭhas of Jāinas and Buddhists<sup>2</sup>. It is pleasant to relate that in spite of the religious differences that divided the inhabitants of the agrahāras there existed perfect amity and goodwill among them. This is made obvious by the above-mentioned Kuppāṭūr inscription of Kirtti-varṃma. Queen Māḷala-dēvi, we are informed in this record, built the Jaina Parsva-dēva chaityalaya and had it consecrated by Padmananḍi-siddhānta-dēva. At this function, she worshipped all the Brahmins of the agrahāra of Kuppāṭūr in the prescribed manner, and invited the Brahman priests of the Koṭiśvara mūlaś-thāna and the high priest of the Banavasī Madhukēśvara to assist at the ceremony. These gave the temple the name of Brahma-jinālaya, doubtless to show the good understanding that prevailed between the two communities<sup>3</sup>.

The students, it may be inferred from the records, largely depended on the charity of the rich and benevolent people who generously endowed these seats of learning. However we are not able to decide whether this applied to the whole student community or only to a section of them. Perhaps it is more reasonable to say that the scholarships were intended for supporting the poor and deserving students. These scholarships not only enabled them to acquire knowledge but also to maintain themselves, since they were generally supplied with food and clothing free of charge.

As regards the professors, they maintained themselves from the income that accrued to the departments in which they lectured. We have seen above that on many occasions the grant specified that the *mahājanas* had to pay from the interest on the sum that was invested with them<sup>4</sup>. This virtually amounted to saying that the chairs in different branches were endowed. The consequence was that the professors devoted themselves wholeheartedly to the pursuit of knowledge and the training of their wards.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., VIII, Sb, 100.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Sb, 262; E. I., XV, p. 362.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 262.

<sup>4</sup> E. I., XIII, pp. 57, 737; XV, p. 76; E. C., VII, Sk, 117; VIII, Sb, 262, 63, and others.

It will not be incorrect to say that the existence of these three different communities promoted a healthy spirit of academic discussions in which religious disputations were given a prominent place. We have epigraphical evidence as regards the discourses that were held there on dharma and other subjects<sup>1</sup>. This must have acted as a pleasant diversion from the monotony of the ordinary teaching routine.

Another educational agency that played an important part in the cultural life of Kārnāṭaka was the *maṭha*. It was a typical Indian monastery with monks, ascetics and students living within its precincts. It is interesting to note that as in the mediaeval universities, the residents of monasteries were expected to observe strict celibacy, any lapse of which was punished with expulsion<sup>2</sup>. The fact that they were leaching establishments, has prompted some writers to liken them to residential colleges<sup>3</sup>. These monasteries were invariably attached to some local temple or had some temples attached to them. That is to say in some of these *maṭhas* education was given a prominent place and religion was relegated to a secondary position, which in some others it was the other way about. For instance, the monastery at Yēwūr, of which Chikka-dēva was the āchārya in 1179, belonged to the first kind of monastic establishments, being attached to the local temple of Svayambhu Sōmanātha<sup>4</sup>; while the *maṭhas* at Baṅkāpur fell in the second category, for temples like the Kadambēśvara at Baṅkāpur were affiliated to them.

The *maṭhas* were also free boarding houses. Not only the students and the ascetics who received instruction at the *maṭha*, were provided with food and clothes free of charge, but also the poor and the infirm found there free board and lodge<sup>5</sup>. In order to enable them to carry on their work, these *maṭhas* were richly endowed by kings and chieftains and the philanthropic and wealthy citizens. Thus we are told in an inscription at Lakshmēśvar that the *guru* of the Śaiva monastery, Mahēndra Sōma Paṇḍita-dēva, paid a visit to the Kadamba King of Hāṅgal, Taila II, and gave him his blessing and some gifts of saffron, sandal and rice

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 67.

<sup>2</sup> E. I., XII, p. 290.

<sup>3</sup> Subbiah, *A Twelve Century University in Mysore*, Q. J. M. S., VII, p. 170.

<sup>4</sup> E. I., XIII, pp. 174-175.

<sup>5</sup> E. I., XII, p. 290.

from the "blessed feet of the most noble god Sōmanātha" in return for which he received from Taila the grant of the town of Kallavaṇa for the maintenance of his establishment<sup>1</sup>. This grant was repeated by Taila III<sup>2</sup>.

An inscription of 1179 informs us that Tripurāntantaka-dēvarasa granted two plots of lands to the monastery at Yēwūr for the same purpose<sup>3</sup>. Another inscription at Sūḍi records a grant made by the Chalukya Emperor Trailōkyamalla to the local maṭha for the disbursement of the ordinary expenses<sup>4</sup>. An epigraph at Chikkamagaḍi in the Shikarpur Taluqa tells us that the Kadamba King Boppa-dēva made a gift of land to the Jaina maṭha for its maintenance, and we see from the same records that this gift was later confirmed by the local governor<sup>5</sup>. We said in the last section that the Jaina maṭha at the agrahāra of Kuppaṭūr was endowed by the Kadamba Queen Māḷala-dēvi. There are scores of inscriptions of the non-Kadamba kings endowing the maṭhas, but as they do not pertain to our subject, we refrain from referring to them.

The monasteries are some of those institutions that were not established by any outside agency, but came into being on account of the natural desire of pious people to devote themselves to a life of prayer and study, which brought them together. In addition to such monasteries, there were others that were evidently founded by kings or chieftains. We are told for instance in an inscription at Yēwūr of A.D. 1077 that the general Raviyaṇabhaṭṭa caused a maṭha to be built at this place and endowed it with rich and extensive properties for the purpose of maintaining the temple of the god, for feeding and clothing students, ascetics and scholars, for the salaries of the professors lecturing to them, for the celebration of the Chaitra and Pavitra festivals, for the entertainment of visitors, the poor, the infirm and the Brahmans, and for the other sundry expenses of the establishment. The monastery, it may be gathered from the same record, was placed in charge of Iśānarāsi Paṇḍita, a disciple's disciple of Chikka-dēva of Miriṇje, a disciple of Malayāḷa Paṇḍita-dēva<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *E.I.*, XVI, pp. 42-43.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *E.I.*, XII, p. 337.

<sup>4</sup> *E.I.*, XV, pp. 92-93.

<sup>5</sup> *E.C.*, VII, Sk, 197.

<sup>6</sup> *E.I.*, XII, p. 290.



33. Halsi, Varāha-Narasimha Temple.



34. Degamve, Śrī Kamalā-Nārāyaṇa Temple.



35. Degaṇve, Śrī Kamaḷa-Nārāyaṇa Temple, Navaraṅga.

Another instance of the foundation of the *maṭhas* by the nobility is met with in the Chikkamagaḍi inscription which records that the Jaina temple at Magaḍi was built by Śankara-Sāmantha, the general of the Kadamba King Boppa-dēva. This temple was endowed in the same way as the above<sup>1</sup>.

It would appear from the inscriptions that the common people also founded such institutions of learning. An inscription has it that a Brahman lady from Mercara, founded a monastery at Tiruvāriyūr in the Chingleput District<sup>2</sup>. Sometimes a new *maṭha* was founded as a branch of an old one. A good instance of this was the *maṭha* at Yēwūr, described above, whose *guru* was a disciple from the Miraj monastery. Sometimes the founder of the new *maṭha* was one of the alumni of an older institution. The *maṭha* at Yēwūr was of this type and it was built in honour of Isāna-dēva by a lady disciple of his, agreeably to her dying husband's instructions<sup>3</sup>.

The most important of the *maṭhas* in the Kadamba dominions were those of Beḷagāmi, Kuppaṭūr and Bāndhavapura. The inscriptions throw welcome light on their work as educational institutions. The descriptions given of the scholastic acquirements of the *gurus* show that the professors in these establishments were distinguished savants, selected from among the best intellects in the country. The *guru* of the Pancha-linga *maṭha*, which was presumably the earliest institution of its kind in Kaṣṇāṭaka, being popularly believed to have been founded by the Pāṇḍavas, is spoken of in these records as "the uprooter of Buddhas, Mīmāṃsakas, Lokāyatas, Sāṅkhyas, Digambaras and Advaitins; the sole support of Naiyāyikas, fluent and fond of explaining things"<sup>4</sup>. The third *guru* of the Kōḍiya *maṭha* is said to have acquired proficiency in Sīdhānta, tarka, vyākaraṇa, kāvya, nāṭaka, Bhārata śāstra and other sciences connected with sāhitya, and in Jaina, Lokāyata, Buddhism and Lakula Siddhānta. Another *guru* knew to perfection Vēdānta, Sīdhānta and Āgama. He possessed a wonderful facility in devising new metres, and tracing the origin of words<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 197.

<sup>2</sup> 127 and 132 of 1912.

<sup>3</sup> 119 of 1911. Cf. Venkateswara, o. c., p. 262.

<sup>4</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 126. Cf. Venkateswara, l. c., Sk, 100, where one of the *acharyas* is given the same distinctions.

<sup>5</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 98, 99, 102, 114. Cf. Venkateswara, o. c., p. 263.

Such were the qualifications of the professors in the Śaiva monasteries. These were the establishments of the Kālāmukhas, a sect which had probably its origin in Gujarat, and made considerable progress at this time in the south<sup>1</sup>. Other monasteries of this sect were those at Yēwūr<sup>2</sup>, Sūdi<sup>3</sup>, Kurgod<sup>4</sup> and probably also the ones at Baṅkāpur<sup>5</sup> and Lakshmēśvar<sup>6</sup>. The monasteries at Yēwūr were branch establishments of the old and prosperous maṭha at Miraj<sup>7</sup>.

Besides these establishments which were purely Śaivite, there were others which belonged to the Jainas and Buddhists. The professors in these maṭhas were as learned as those in the Śaivite monasteries. For we are informed in the Chikka-magaḍi inscription mentioned above, that the second āchārya of the temple at Bāndhavapura was a great scholar, who "published commentaries, made the science of grammar his own, adopted the rules of logic, explained poems and dramas, and despised the attacks of the fish-bannered (the god of love)"<sup>8</sup>. The āchāryas of the Jaina monastery at Kuppaṭūr were also distinguished for their learning and piety<sup>9</sup>.

It may be gathered from the epigraphs that the subjects that were taught in the monasteries were common also to the agrahāras. The curriculum of studies that is mentioned in these records shows that the education that was imparted was many-sided and the view of culture that was taken remarkably broad. At these seats of learning instruction was given in the grammar schools of Kaumārya, Pāniniya, Śākaṭāyana, *Śabdānuśāsana*, and other works, the six *darśanas* of Nyāya, Vaiśeṣhika, Mīmāṃsa, Sāṅkya, Baudha, and others, the Lakuṣa siddhānta, Pantaṇjali, and other Yōga Śāstras, the eighteen Purāṇas, Dharmasāstras, poems, dramas and comedies<sup>10</sup>. The list of the subjects will be fairly completed if we add to it, the Vēdas, the Āgamas, logic, Smṛitis, polity, and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *E. I.*, XII, p. 337.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 337.

<sup>3</sup> *E. I.*, XV, p. 93.

<sup>4</sup> *E. I.*, XIV, p. 277.

<sup>5</sup> *E. I.*, XIII, pp. 174-175.

<sup>6</sup> *E. I.*, XVI, p. 42.

<sup>7</sup> *E. I.*, XII, p. 337.

<sup>8</sup> *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 197.

<sup>9</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 262.

<sup>10</sup> *E. C.*, VII, Sk, 126; *E. I.*, XIV, 277; *E. I.*, XV, p. 93; *E. I.*, XII, pp. 290-291.

literary composition<sup>1</sup>. There are also references to Ashtha or the science of performing eight things at once<sup>2</sup> and sixty-four arts of which painting and music were most common<sup>3</sup>.

There is an incidental mention in these records of the text-books that were read by the students in different subjects. Thus we may gather that Vālmiki was followed in poetry, Vyāsamuni in the Purāṇas, Manu in religious laws, Śankara in logic, Pānini and Guha with numerous others in grammar, and Chanakya and Brighu in polity<sup>4</sup>.

Finally we learn from these records that the monasteries, and probably also the agrahāras, ministered to the wants of all sorts of people from all countries, and that they gave shelter to the oppressed, and food and medicine to the poor and the sick<sup>5</sup>. A feature common to all the monasteries and the agrahāras was the reading of the Vēdas and the Purāṇas in the assembly with proper accentuations, and the verbal texts proceeding with even and uneven cadence<sup>6</sup>.

The third agency that disseminated learning in Kaṇṇāṭaka was the *brahmāpurī*. The brahmapurī was a settlement of learned Brahmans in parts of towns or cities. It differed from the agrahāra, for while the latter was a corporate body and formed a unit by itself, the brahmapurī does not seem to have possessed these characteristics. The brahmapuris were not so numerous as the agrahāras. This was presumably because of the scarcity of large cities in those days<sup>7</sup>. Hence the information given of these institutions in the epigraphical records is very scrappy.

An account of the founding of brahmapuris is given in an inscription from Beḷagāmi. Kēśava-dēva, we are told, acquired a tract of fertile land from Sarvēśvara Paṇḍita of the Pancha Linga temple and after clearing it of trees and other things, constructed

<sup>1</sup> E. I., XIII, p. 337; E. C., VIII, Sb, 225.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa*, J.B.B.R.A.S., IX, p. 216.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., V, Mj, 18.

<sup>4</sup> E. I., XV, pp. 326, 359, etc.

<sup>5</sup> E.C., VII, 102. Cf. Venkatesvara, o. c., p. 263.

<sup>6</sup> E. I., XV, p. 359; E.C., VII, Sk, 225. All the inscriptions we have cited allude to this custom.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Subblah, *A Twelfth Century University in Mysore*, Q. J. M. S., VII, p. 167.

a temple to the god Kēśava. In front of this temple he built a town and named it Virakēśavapura. This town with the spacious and comfortable houses, the chambers of which he filled with raised cushions and all kinds of vessels, he gave to a band of learned Brahmins. After this he provided for their livelihood by giving them each a 'vṛitti', i. e. some lands. "The Brahmins of this brahmapurī", so runs the inscription, "were gifted with all the virtues and practised *yama, nityama, dhyāna, dhāraṇa, maunānusthāna, Jaga, and samādhi.*" They also tended on the *aupāsana* and the *agnihōtra* fires, and discharged their six Brahmanical duties. They were well-versed in the six systems of logic, in *mīmāṃsā*, and in other sciences. They were proficient in the Purāṇas, Smṛitis, Kāvya, Nāṭakas, in the Bhāṣhya and in Mañjarī. Finally they were the support of many poets, disputants, orators and learned people<sup>1</sup>.

These were the educational institutions that flourished in Kaṇnāṭaka in the middle ages. We have called the *agrahāras*, which undoubtedly were the most important of these establishments, universities, for the reason that all the sciences that were known in those days were taught at these seats of learning. Nevertheless it must be said that they were lacking in the internal organization of the universities of modern times or even of mediaeval Europe. The contemporary documents at our disposal do not speak a word about this factor, esteemed of such high import in modern teaching. Education seems to have been individual, as regards both the *guru* and the *śiṣya*, and the teaching of one *guru* did not depend at all on the teaching of the others.

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<sup>1</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 123. Cf. Subbiah, o.c., pp. 168-169.

## CHAPTER VII

### Literature

It is one of the glories of the Kadamba monarchs that they all patronised learning, with the result that many learned men flourished at their court. An important instance of this is furnished by the Halsi inscription of Harivarmma, which while describing the attributes of his father Ravi avers that the latter supported holy and learned people "with the wealth he had amassed by just means"<sup>1</sup>. Another instance is found in the Halsi inscription of Śivachitta, which while speaking of his ancestor Jayakēśi II asserts that the streets of his capital were filled with the palanquins of his paṇḍits<sup>2</sup>. We learn from the Banavasi records of Kīrttivarmma that he was a sarvajña<sup>3</sup>, which evidently means that he had received an advanced education. The inscriptions of other rulers of this dynasty make us aware of the academic titles borne by these kings. Thus one of Vijayāditya's birudas was that of *Sarasvatibhūṣaṇa*<sup>4</sup>. In the few inscriptions of the dynasty that have come down to us, there is no mention of the poets that lived under the Kadamba patronage. But we are apprised of the poets who flourished in the kingdom of the Kadambas by the records of the Banavasi governors. We are told in the epigraph of Lakshma of 1068 that his finance minister was one Śāntinātha, who had compiled the *Sukumāracharita*. It is obvious that he was of Jaina persuasion. The inscription tells us that his preceptor was Vardhamānayaṭi, his father was Gōvindarāja, his elder brother was Kāmaparya, his younger brother was Rēvana, the ornament of

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Sanscrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VI, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa*, J.B.B.R.A.S., IX, p. 273.

<sup>3</sup> E. I., XVI, p. 355.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa*, J.B.B.R.A.S., IX, p. 245.

speech, and his King was Lakshmaṇa-nṛipa. Śāntinātha bears the titles of *Daṇḍanātha Pravara*, *Paramajina Matāmbhōjini Rājaham-sa*, *Saraswatīmukha-mukura*, *Sahajakavi*, *Chaturakavi*, and *Nissahāyakavi*<sup>1</sup>.

The next name among the poets of this period is that of Nāgavarmāchārya. We have a date for him in 1070. He is the author of the *Chandrachūḍāmaṇi* in Kannaḍa. It appears from the book that he was the minister of peace and war to Udayāditya, the governor of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand, and he related the story to his brother who was an envoy at the court of the same governor<sup>2</sup>. It seems almost certain that he was the same Nāgavarmāchārya, who is mentioned in an inscription in the Shikarpur Taluqua as a dependant of Udyāditya<sup>3</sup>. He also seems to have been the poet who composed the Halsi inscription of Śivachitta<sup>4</sup>.

Harivarmma was another poet that lived about the same period. It is evident from the Kuppaṭūr śāsana of the Kadamba Kīrtti-dēva that he lived in the reign of this monarch and possibly at his court<sup>5</sup>.

The inscriptions also give us the name of a poet, Chandra-rāja, who appears to be the author of the *Madana-tīlaka*. He was patronised by Māchi-rāja, the governor of Sāntalige, under the Chalukya Jayasimha<sup>6</sup>. It is obvious from his titles that Chandra-rāja was a Brahman, for he calls himself Viprakulalālāmaṇi, Dvijabōdheirājam and Mamunīndracharam<sup>7</sup>.

In an inscription at Hāveri, we find the name of one Nārāyaṇa-dēva of the Viśvamiṭra gōtra. He asserts that he was praised by other poets, from which we gather that he was a poet of some renown<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 136. Cf. Narasimhacharya, *Karnataka-Kavi-Charite*, I, pp. 83-87.

<sup>2</sup> Narasimhacharya, o. c., p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 129.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa*, J.B.B.R.A.S., IX, p. 286.

<sup>5</sup> E. C., VII, Sb, 262.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., Sa, 109.

<sup>7</sup> Narasimhacharya, o. c., p. 90.

<sup>8</sup> From an ink impression.

## CHAPTER VIII

### Architecture

South Indian architecture affords the student of history a division and classification of buildings as complete perhaps as the architecture of the west. It is a matter of considerable ease to differentiate between the Greek and the Gothic styles, it is easier still to distinguish between one kind of Indian buildings from another in order to classify them under a particular denominational name, such as the Kadamba style, the Chalukya style, the Hoysala style or for a matter of that any other style. Works of art are not entirely the result of inspiration. Art seeks and follows set principles and rules and the artist assiduously attempts to link the canonical rules of the past with the progressive ideas of the present. This gives rise to different schools and styles of architecture. Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil in his *Dravidian Architecture*, remarks: "Works of art indeed are not made entirely at random from inspiration; there are almost always discoverable some methods, principles and irrevocable canonical rules. Whatever may be the originality of a work, it is connected with contemporary works; it is explained by anterior works. The author belongs to a school, the work belongs to a style"<sup>1</sup>.

It is our object in this chapter to define the different styles of buildings prevailing in the Dekkan and classify them according to principles governing a particular school or style.

Indian architecture has been presented to the student of history in a manner that appears even to a casual reader to be erroneous. Both the earlier writers and the more recent ones have alike classified the monuments of the most divergent types under one and the same denomination. Mr. Fergusson, writing in the last quarter of the 19th century, included the temples of widely different construction under the general but wrong nomenclature of

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<sup>1</sup> Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Dravidian Architecture*, p. 2

Chalukya architecture. Even a present day scholar like Mr. Cousens, has not broken loose from the traditional terminology, for in his work on *Chalukyan Architecture* he includes several temples which are far from being Chalukya.

To the late Rev. Fr. A. M. Tabard, President of the Mythic Society, Bangalore, belongs the credit of creating a new denomination to name the style of the structures which had come within the range of his observation, viz. the Hoysala temples. These were monuments quite different from the Chalukya shrines not only on account of their historical origin, but also from the point of view of their method of construction.

Now on examining the temples spread over Kaṇṇāṭaka, one comes across several buildings which bear similarity neither to the ones now classified under Hoysala, nor to those styled as Chalukya and perhaps built by the monarchs of this dynasty. The different styles one notices in these edifices are distinguished by some peculiar characteristics of plan and execution.

The earliest style of which specimens are known in Kaṇṇāṭaka was what we propose to call here the Kadamba style. This distinction is not arbitrary, for, as we shall show later on, the buildings classified under this style have few things in common either with the Chalukya or with the Pallava styles. This will be quite obvious if we examine the temples built by the Chalukyas and now existing in the country that came immediately under their rule. We may then contrast the principal elements that constitute the Chalukya style with the main characteristics of the Kadamba. This investigation will also lead us to examine the Pallava style and to contrast it with the Kadamba in order to have a clear notion of the latter.

The Chalukyas emerged into prominence in the latter half of the sixth century and held the field in the Dekkan for about six hundred years. Their principality consisted of north Dekkan. It is natural that they found here many temples built by the Kadambas. But when they themselves started to construct monuments they introduced into the existing style new features brought from the north<sup>1</sup>, which eventually became a distinct style by itself called here the Chalukya style of architecture.

The earliest monument that was built in this style seems to be the temple of Durga at Aihole. "It is unique", writes Mr. Cousens, "in that it is built upon the lines of the apsidal

<sup>1</sup> Their capital being close to Northern India.



36. Degamve. Śrī Kamalā-Nārāyaṇa Temple. Parapet.



37. Degamve. Detail of the above Parapet.



38. Degamve. Śrī Kamalā-Nārayana Temple. Entrance to the Garbhagriha.

cave *chaitya* of the Buddhists, the position of the shrine being that of the *dūgaba*; and, like its prototype, two rows of columns separate the body of the hall into a central nave and two side aisles”<sup>1</sup>. These two side aisles were joined at the back of the shrine in a curve, following the abscidal shape of the monument, and formed the *pradakshiṇā*, or the circumambulatory passage around the shrine. Another important feature of this temple is the northern type of tower with a curvilinear outline, but marked with horizontal stages, showing the influence of the Kadamba style. These stages are no doubt also to be seen in the northern *śikhara*s but they are extremely narrow, and not so clearly defined as those of the Kadamba tower. Again a careful examination of these stages reveals their tooth-like projections which are the motifs of ornamentation of the later Kadamba *vimānas*.

Hence it becomes apparent from the above description of the Durga temple, that during the early period of the Western Chalukya régime, the temples were built in a style that embodied three distinct elements belonging to three different styles of architecture. The apsidal form and the *pradakshiṇā* were evidently borrowed from the *chaitya* of the Buddhists. The curvilinear tower was likewise imitated from the northern *śikhara* and this again was modified by the horizontal stages of the Kadamba *vimāna*. These three features, therefore, constituted the main characteristics of the early style of the Chalukyas. In course of time this style was further evolved and revolutionized to a certain extent; for as the Chalukyas came in contact with the Pallavas, they were influenced by the architectural style of the latter. Accordingly they often adopted the Pallava *gopuram* for their buildings instead of the northern *śikhara*s. By a natural process of evolution the apsidal form about this time gave place to the rectangular shape and the *pradakshiṇā*, which once formed the passage round the whole building, was now shortened and restricted to the shrine only.

Among the monuments that may be classified under the later Chalukya style are the Sangamēśvara and the Virūpāksha temples at Paṭṭadakal. The Virūpāksha temple is by far the largest and the most important of these edifices. It stands in an enclosure, 224 ft. long and about 105 ft. broad. This court was surrounded by small shrines or cells, some of which are still visible. The temple consists of the sanctum containing the *linga*, “the spacious pillared hall

<sup>1</sup> Cousens, *Chalukyan Architecture*, p. 38.

with its porches, the Nandi pavilion before it, sheltering the bull of Śiva, and the eastern and western courtyard gateways, linked up by the engirdling walls". The cella is surrounded by a *pradakṣiṇā* with three niches in the passage. To this is attached the *maṇḍapa* or hall which is thus distinct from the shrine. The former is 50 ft. 8 in. by 45 ft. 10 in. in measurement, and its roof is supported by eighteen massive cubic pillars, in the North Hindu style. They are arranged in four rows from east to west, the two central rows having five pillars in each. The pillars are all of one pattern, differing only in sculpture. They are each of one block, without bases, but crowned by a roll bracket-capital. The *maṇḍapa* is lighted by twelve pierced windows. The tower of this temple is pyramidal and ornamented with the simulated cells, exactly like the one of the Kailāsanātha or Rājasimhēśvara temple at Kāñchī<sup>1</sup>.

The Saṅgamēśvara temple is now much dilapidated, but quite similar in plan and detail to the Virūpākṣa temple. It is smaller and not so carefully finished. It is older than the Virūpākṣa temple by forty years, having been erected in the reign of Vijayāditya<sup>2</sup>. It cannot be said definitely when the Pallava features came to be introduced into the Chalukya architecture. The relations of the Chalukyas with the Pallavas date from the time of Pulikēśi II in the beginning of the 7th century A.D. From the records of Pulikēśi II it is ascertained that he attacked the Pallavas, whose leader Mahēndravarmma I was compelled to take refuge behind the ramparts of Kāñchī<sup>3</sup>. In 642 A.D. Pulikēśi II was defeated and presumably slain by the Pallavas under Narasimhavarmma I<sup>4</sup>. Vikramāditya I (655-680), son of Pulikēśi, retrieved the losses sustained in the reign of his father, and captured the Pallava capital Kāñchīpuram<sup>5</sup>. His son Vinayāditya also had dealings with the Pallavas<sup>6</sup>. Vikramāditya II repeated the exploit of his great-grandfather Vikramāditya I and occupied the city of Kāñchī. It is possible that in the course of their relations with the Pallavas,

<sup>1</sup> Fergusson, *History of the Indian and Eastern Art*, pp. 353-355. Cf. Cousens, *Chalukyan Architecture*, pp. 61-66; Cousens, *Architectural Antiquities in Western India*, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Fergusson, *l.c.*; Cousens, *Chalukyan Architecture*, p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> *Carn. Desa Inscriptions*, p. 557, referred to by Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 350.

<sup>4</sup> *E.I.*, III, p. 280.

<sup>5</sup> *South Indian Inscriptions*, I, p. 145.

<sup>6</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Kanarese Inscriptions*, I.A., VI, pp. 87, 88.

the Chalukyas developed a taste for the Dravidian style. The Vakkaleri grant tells us that Vikramāditya refrained from destroying the Pallava capital and acquired great merit by granting gifts to the Rājasimhēśvara temple. He was so struck with admiration at the sculptures he saw there that he overlaid them with gold<sup>1</sup>. It is also clear from other sources that he induced some prominent architects to return with him to his kingdom. Thus one of two inscriptions on the eastern gate-way of the above-described Virūpāksha temple at Paṭṭadakal records that the builder of this temple was "the most eminent *sūtradhāri* of the southern country"<sup>2</sup>. It is not unlikely that in welcoming these architects Vikramāditya followed the example set by his predecessors. This perhaps accounts for the construction of the Saṅgamēśvara temple in this style during the reign of his father Vijayāditya.

These facts lead us to study the Pallava style though briefly in order to differentiate the Kadamba monuments from all the other styles of South India.

The representative monuments of the Pallava style are the *rathas* and caves of Mamallapuram, the temples of Kailāsanātha and Vaikuntha Perumāḷ at Kāñchīpuram and the Tiruttanēśvara temple at Tiruttani. The *rathas* are monolithic temples cut from a series of boulder-like granulitic outcrops on the sea shore. They belong to the first half of the 7th century, and though they differ from one another in shape, their style is the same. It may rightly be supposed that they represent contemporary types of structural buildings. We propose to give here a brief description of each of these monuments.

The Draupadi *ratha* is a small *panasālā* 11 feet square with a curvilinear roof like the modern Bengali thatched cottages and brick temples. "The form", says Mr. Coomarswamy, "is without doubt derived from bamboo construction, and occurs already in the small shrine represented at the left end (obverse) of the Kaṭrā Mound *torāṇa* architrave, M 1, of the Mathura museum"<sup>3</sup>. "The square *rathas*" remarks Dr. Ferguson, "are the originals from which all the *vimānas* in southern India were copied, and continued to be copied nearly unchanged to a very late period"<sup>4</sup>. The Arjuna

<sup>1</sup> Rice, *The Chalukyas and Pallavas*, I.A., VIII, p. 23; E.I., IX, p. 206.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Sanscrit and Old Kanarese Inscriptions*, I.A., X, pp. 170-171.

<sup>3</sup> Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 104. Cf. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura*, pl. XXV.

<sup>4</sup> Ferguson, *History of India and Eastern Architecture*, I, pp. 330-38.

*ratha* illustrates the simplest form of the Pallava temple, like the small rock-cut shrines at Undavaḷḷi<sup>1</sup>. The Bhīma, the Dharmarāja and the Saḥadēva *rathas* are perfect types of Pallava architecture. They were curvilinear shaped roofs of three upper stories ornamented with little simulated cells or pavilions called *pancarams* which became the distinguished feature of the Pallava style. The front of each of these cells, with their connecting links, is adorned with the *chaitya*-window niches. The first is an oblong building having for its roof an elongated barrel vault; the second is surmounted by an hexagonal dome; and the third, which has its back in the apsidal form, resembles the older structural apsidal *chaitya* halls. The Ganesh *ratha* is the most nearly finished of all, and gives a fair idea of the form taken by these oblong temples. It is in three stories adorned with fine designs, and the form of its *gopurams* became afterwards characteristic of the Pallava architecture. The roof has a straight ridge decorated at the ends by Śaiva *trīśūlas*, and similar emblems crowned the dormer windows. The ridge is ornamented by nine small pinnacles<sup>2</sup>. In matter of details, may be noted capitals without *palagai* or abacus, but with bases representing Vyālis or conventional lions, brackets plain or horizontally fluted, roll cornices with *chaitya* window niches enclosing heads or figures without a crowning *kīrtīmukha*, and *makara-toraṇa* lintels<sup>3</sup>.

The structural temples of the type of Kailāsanātha or Rajēśvara at Kāñchī, date from the beginning of the 8th century. This shrine with its pyramidal tower, ornamented with *pancarams*, has a flat roof with pillared *maṇḍapa* and is surrounded by a peristyle consisting of a series of small cells that look like the *rathas*. But here the Pallava style is still more developed and elaborate, a fact which shows the influence of the Chalukyas. The *vimāna* containing the usual *linga* is surrounded as in the Chalukya temples by a *pradakṣhīṇā*; but around it are seven small attached shrines with large *Nandis* between them— a feature not common in the Chalukya architecture. We have traced the origin of this *pradakṣhīṇā* whilst speaking about the architectural style of the Chalukyas. It is not difficult to account for the presence of this

<sup>1</sup> Longhurst, *Pallava Architecture*, Part I, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ferguson, *History of India and Eastern Architecture*, I, pp. 330-338.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, I, p. 332; Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 104.

unique Chalukya feature in the Pallava monuments. As the Chalukyas borrowed the pyramidal *gopurams* from the Pallavas, the latter profited by their contact with the Chalukyas and adopted the circumambulatory passage. Characteristic details in Pallava temples include the vertical median band on horizontally fluted brackets, the abacus as the uppermost element of the capital and the rampant lions supporting the pillars sometimes provided with riders<sup>1</sup>.

Having determined the distinguishing marks of the Chalukya and the Pallava architecture, we may now proceed with the examination of the style of the buildings to which the name of Kadamba has been affixed.

The early Kadamba temple was naturally derived from the primitive structures of the Andhrabhrityas, the dynasty that preceded the Kadambas as rulers of Kārnāṭaka. But with the march of time this style was so modified in its development by the later Kadamba temple-builders that it eventually attained a separate style at their hands. The evolution from the primitive style to the Kadamba style seems to have been a natural process, and was never influenced by the Pallava or the northern models. This is clearly evidenced by the later Kadamba monuments, which while employing miniature towers of the north Hindu and the Pallava types as a decorative detail to adorn the columns and the niches around the temple-walls, yet always have their *vimānas* built in the Kadamba style. (Pls. 32, 39) This strange phenomenon is to be accounted for by the traditional conservatism of the Hindus, which made the master-masons construct always according to the methods of their time with the motifs which had been transmitted to them by their ancestors. They could make use of the Pallava and the northern towers for the purpose of decorating the building, but to substitute this exotic tower for their own *vimāna* consecrated by a long line of master architects believed to be divinely inspired, was too revolting a sentiment for the builders.

From the remains that have escaped destruction at the hands of time and the vandal, it may be supposed that the earliest of the Kadamba temples did not radically differ from the Andhrabhritya structures. The oldest monuments seem to be at Halsi, the old city of Palasika, which is often alluded to in the inscriptions. (Pl. 26) There is a Jain *basti* at this place, which is probably the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp. 104-105.

one said to have been built by the Kadamba King Mrigēśavarmma, who lived in the fifth century of our era<sup>1</sup>. The temple is simple, verging almost on the primitive. It consists of the *garbhagriha* or shrine, and an open *sukhanāsi* (vestibule hall), but without the *maṇḍapa* in front. It is noteworthy that the *sukanāsi* is wider than the *garbhagriha*. The walls are made of big boulders of granite roughly hewn and piled up in a vertical position.

It would seem from the above description that the Kadamba temples were an improvement on the Andhrabhritya structures. The latter, we may presume, were like all ancient monuments, mere halls, as yet not separated into partitions. With the rise of the Kadambas, however, the temples came to consist of two distinct parts, namely the *garbhagriha* and the *sukhanāsi*.

In the Śaiva temple at Talagunda the Kadamba style is further evolved. The temple itself looks more refined than the Jaina basti at Halsi. (Pl. 2) The size of the masonry is diminished, and we no longer find the heavy cyclopean blocks as used in the latter. The stones of the walls are smoothly cut, but they resemble those of the Jaina basti in the baldness of design. The pillars, which are either square or cylindrical monoliths, are here slightly ornamented with geometrical designs, and have the *dvārapālakas* sculptured on them at the bottom. The pillars have no base, nor the corbel nor the abacus. Hence the architrave is supported on the bare top. The *garbhagriha* had no windows but only one doorway. The lintel of this door is carved with some floral designs, peculiar to later Kadamba buildings. In the middle of the lintel is the dedicatory block on which is carved the image of Ganapat, thus indicating that the divinity in the temple was originally, as it is now, some representation of Śiva. In the present case it is the linga, which is placed in the middle of the *garbhagriha*.

The next edifice that might perhaps give us some idea of the Kadamba style at the early period, is the group of temples at Kadaroli, built in the bed of the Malaprabha. (Pl. 27) They are similar in construction to the Talagunda temple described above. Their plan is simple. They are small square buildings, each surmounted by a tower with the *kalasha* on top. This tower is a perfect pyramid marked with horizontal stages that have the appearance of steps. These steps are quite plain.

The Hattikēśvara temple at Halsi shows a further develop-

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Sanseril and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VI, p. 26.

ment in the Kadamba style. On either side of the doorway there appear for the first time those perforated screens or pierced stone windows that later on became a permanent feature of all Kadamba temples. Some modifications are also noticed at the top end of the pillars. Unlike the columns in the temples described above, the architrave in this temple is not supported on the bare shaft but by the capital consisting of the abacus and the corbel. The Nandi and the bases of pillars that are to be seen in front of the temple make it manifest that there was a *maṇḍapa* attached to the shrine.

We see a further development in the pillars at the Kallēśvara temple at Halsi. (Pl. 29) They are here divided into cubical and octagonal parts, and were most likely crowned by the capital. The temple consists of the *garbhagr̥tha* and the *sukhanāsi*, to which the *mukhamandapa* is added.

In the Śuvarṇēśvara temple at Halsi the pillars are of two different patterns. Along with the type described above, we also find the round and square shafted columns.

The monuments at Yalavatti, namely the Hindu temple and the Jaina basti, are important as they mark a further stage in the evolution of the Kadamba tower. The horizontal stages, one notices, are unlike those of the early *gopurams*. They are for the first time divided into rectangular parallelopipeds; but as yet they are uncovered by ornamental details. The Hindu temple had a *maṇḍapa* in front, but as it is in a dilapidated state, no more details can be gathered as regards the Kadamba architecture at this period. (Pl. 30) The Jaina temple on the other hand is well preserved and consists of a cella, a vestibule and a porch. (Pl. 31) The porch is supported by cylindrical pillars, which have the abacus and a plain capital. It also has the overhanging eaves, a feature noticed for the first time in the Kadamba buildings. Another new feature is that the walls of this temple have a horizontal band running in the middle, on which are carved a few geometrical designs. These structures probably belong to the later Kadamba period, for they differ very little from the monuments built in the time of Jayakēśi II, the Goa Kadamba King.

The Ramēśvara temple at Halsi shows another motif that was developed at this period. (Pl. 28) The tower, which does not in any way differ from the earlier *gopurams* described above, has now a projection added on to it, having in front an arch with a simulated cell. The horizontal stages of the *gopuram* are also continued along this projection. As may easily be observed, this feature was not borrowed from the Pallava *gopuram*, for there is

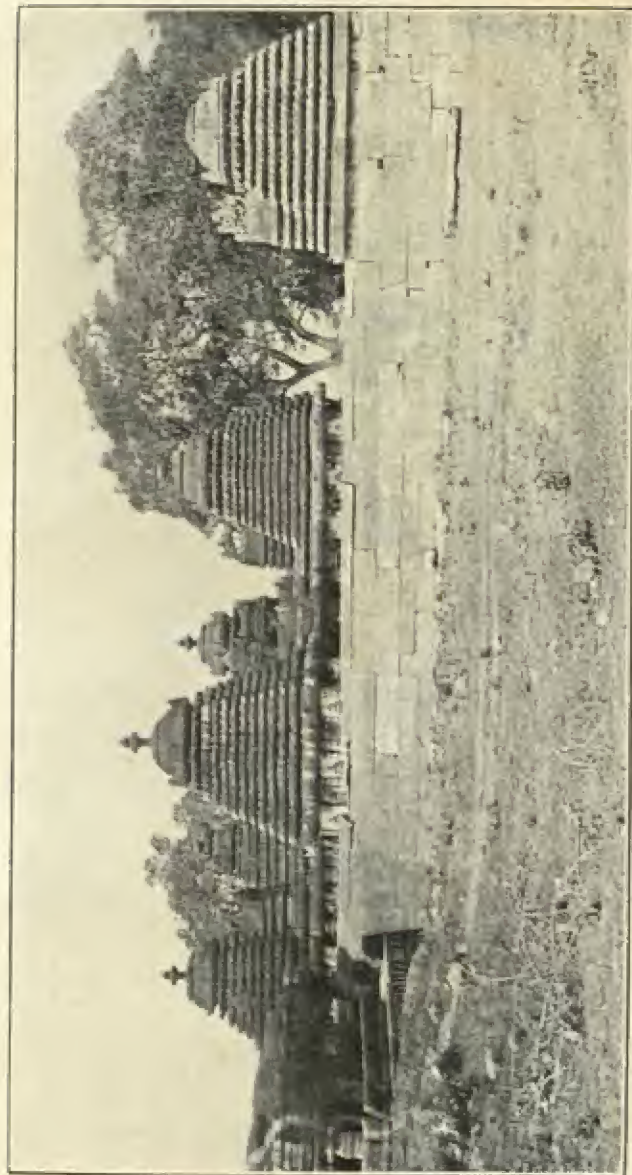
not the slightest resemblance between the simulated cells of the Pallavas and this new feature seen in the Kadamba architecture.

The Varāha-Narasimha temple at Halsi shows further evolution in the Kadamba architecture. (Pl. 32) The parallelopipeds in the stages of the tower are here more numerous than in any of the above-described temples. But as these stages are not so minutely divided or marked with a profusion of ornamentation as in the later temples, the vigorous and purposeful lines of the tower are still maintained, and do not cease to attract the eye of an observer from a distance. The tower projection has now three windows instead of one, one on either side and one in front. The tower is arranged in eleven tiers. On the tenth tier there are four panels each crowned by a *kirttimukha*, or the grotesque face of a monster, apparently a lion. The *sukhanāsi* which is surrounded by walls is lighted by pierced stone windows inserted above the overhanging eaves. (Pl. 33) The roof appears like a terrace, and the eaves are supported by pillars. Each of the latter is now raised on a base and consists of two cubical parts and one bulbous section. The circular portion is marked with three rows of rings.

The perfection of the Kadamba style was evidently reached in the Śrī Kamalā-Nārāyaṇa temple at Degamve. It is a typical example of a temple built in the Kadamba style, which had come under the Hoysaḷa influence. From the inscriptions in the temple we learn that it was built by Tippōja, the architect of the god Bankēśvara, at the command of Kamalā-dēvi, the Queen of the Goa Kadamba King Śivachitta<sup>1</sup>. It is thus one of the latest Kadamba temples built in the middle of the 12th century.

The temple is situated in the centre of the village. The building is rectangular in shape and consists of three cells with a pillared hall running from north to south, in front of the shrines on the west side. The central cell extends into the hall in advance of the other two. Each of these shrines is divided into two parts, namely, the *garbhagṛīha* and the *sukhanāsi*. The frames of the doorways of the *sukhanāsis* are carved with creepers. The pierced stone windows surround the doorway and are more ornamented than any in other Kadamba temples. (Pl. 38) The door-frames of the *garbhagṛīhas*, as in all the Kadamba temples, have the dedicatory block with the image of Gaja-Lakshmi, and the two pendant nails

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa*, J.B.B.R.A.S., IX, p. 275.



39. Doddagaddavalli. Lakshmi-dēvi Temple.

By kind permission of the Director of Archaeological Researches, Mysore.



40. Jambhali. Image of Durga.



41. Bādāmi. Relief of Durga.

By kind permission of the Director-General  
of Archaeology in India.

on either side of this block. A new feature which is noticed in these doorways are the five nails on the *torana*, between each of which there is a rampant lion, thus having in all four lions.

The first cell contains the image of Nārāyaṇa with the ten incarnations carved on the halo. The second has the icon of Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa. Lakshmi is here represented as being seated on the lap of Viṣṇu, with the ten incarnations carved on the *prabha*. Garuda and Māruti are standing on either side of this image. The third shrine bears the image of Kamala with two attendants on both sides.

The walls of the temple are adorned with niches having pilasters surmounted by *gopurams* in the Kadamba style, with the *kalasha*. (Pl. 36) On the parapet surrounding the *mukhamandapa* the following friezes are sculptured from bottom to top:—(1) pillars with rearing lions between them; (2) *gopurams* surmounting these pillars, and having dancing girls in various poses between them; (3) beautiful scroll work on top. (Pl. 37)

The pillars are of three different kinds. (Pl. 35) They are very artistically executed and of complicated design. They are raised on the bases and crowned by ornamented roll brackets. The eaves of the temple are supported on pillars adorned with *madanakais* or bracket figures, of which all but one have disappeared<sup>1</sup>. The ceiling has three pendant lotuses. These are grand pieces of artistic workmanship remarkable for richness of ornamentation and elaboration of details. The last two features with the multiplication of shrines noted above show that the Kadamba style was at this time influenced by the Hoysaḷa architecture. Hence we may regard this temple as belonging to a stage of transition.

Another temple that may be classified under this style is the Lakshmi-dēvi temple at Dodḍa Goddavaḷḷi. (Pl. 39) This is a Hoysaḷa temple which was influenced by the Kadamba style. However the fact that it was built in the reign of the Hoysaḷa King Viṣṇuvardhana, and that it bears the Hoysaḷa crest in front of the *gopuram* have led Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar to believe that it is an example of Hoysaḷa architecture<sup>2</sup>. But it possesses so many distinguishing elements of the Kadamba style, and so singularly lacks those of the Hoysaḷa that it can by no means be classified under the latter style. The most striking thing one

<sup>1</sup> Part of another of these brackets is still to be seen in one of the niches inside the *mandapa*.

<sup>2</sup> Narasimhachar, *The Lakshmi-devi Temple at Dodda-Goddavalli*, p. 1.

notices about this temple is that unlike the Hoysaḷa towers its *vimānas* are not marked with ornamental details. Further they are shaped like perfect pyramids as those in the Kadamba temples, and are marked with the horizontal stages, the bold outlines of which greatly attract the eye. Finally it is not built on a raised platform as the Hoysaḷa temples. Among the details in this temple that are also common to the Hoysaḷa shrines are the elaborately carved doorways, flanked by Vaishṇava door-keepers, the ceiling with the lotus panel and the multiplication of shrines.

It would appear from the above that when the Hoysaḷas rose to power, they adopted the Kadamba style for their buildings. But in course of time this style was so modified by the Hoysaḷa temple builders that it eventually lost many of its old features, and acquired new ones in their place. The evolution was fairly rapid. Probably the Kadamba *vimāna* was the first to be modified. Its parallelopipeds were decorated, new ornaments were then added between slabs. Some of the parallelopipeds in the meantime were enlarged and frequently crowned with *kirttimukhas*. At the same time the tower, accomodating itself to the gradual change of the plan of the *garbhagṛiha* from the square to the star shape, assumed a fluted appearance, though often hidden below a gorgeously profuse ornamentation. The result was that the original pyramid of the Kadamba tower became in a few years a pointless cone. The *kalasha* that once crowned the Kadamba *vimāna* was now substituted by the Hoysaḷa pinnacle. The doorways were flanked by *dvārapālakas* and the frame itself was so elegantly carved that it came to assume a different form from its Kadamba original. In some of these temples the perforated screens, that are always found on either side of the door-way in the Kadamba temple were shifted to occupy different positions in the walls, and finally were placed round the *mukhamandapa*. These are in brief some of the Kadamba motifs that were developed and perfected by the Hoysaḷa architects.

## CHAPTER IX

### Sculpture

It is not possible to write an exhaustive treatise on Kadamba iconography. As most of the Kadamba shrines contain only the linga, the material at hand is not sufficient.

One of the oldest Kadamba icons seems to be the one of Durga at Jambehalli in the Sorab Taluqua. (Pl. 40) The inscription in front of the temple of this goddess records that the original shrine was built by one Kannamma, in the reign of the Kadamba King Śāntivarmma<sup>1</sup>. This temple is now entirely destroyed, and the image is sheltered under a square shed. But there seems to be no doubt that this image was the original, for it exactly resembles the sculpture of Durga carved on one of the walls of Cave No. I of the Bādāmi caves, which were finished at about this period by the early Chalukyas. (Pl. 41) The only important difference between the two images is that in the Bādāmi figure the hand holding the *chakra* rises next to the *tribula* on the top of the spear, while the Jambehalli image is very handsome and much more artistically executed than the one of Bādāmi. The charming face of the goddess, the graceful inclination of her head, the ease with which she holds the emblems and the tail of the buffalo, the shape of this animal's legs, and even the action of thrusting the spear into the neck of the buffalo alike manifest a high degree of artistic skill in the sculptor.

Among the other images of the Kadambas are those at Halsi, Degamve and Hāngaḷ. These statues always have a pointed carved tablet or an arch at the back, crowned with a *kirttimukha*. The image of Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa at Halsi is remarkable for the majesty of its pose and the elegance of its carving. On both the sides are carved two pilasters which are surmounted by the *prabha* which bears on it the representations of the ten incarnations of

<sup>1</sup> E.C., VIII, Sb, 44.

Vishṇu. Lakshmi is seated on the lap of Nārāyaṇa and there is an attendant standing on either side. The image of Vishṇu in the Mādhava temple at Hāṅgal within the Haḷe-Kōṭe has an inscription on the pedestal which gives the date when the image was finished. The inscription runs: "May victory attend. May great auspiciousness attend on the flower pedestal of the image of... caused to be made on the 10th day of the bright fortnight of Vaiśakha of the Vibhava, the 71st (probably) year"<sup>1</sup>. This date probably refers to the Chalukya Vikrama era; for the Vibhava Samvatsara being the 73rd year of that era, the date would seem to nearly agree. The image had four hands formerly, but one of them is now broken. As usual it is flanked by two *dvārapālakas* one on either side.

The Kadamba images of the gods are both in the static and the dynamic poses. The one of Durga, described above, is in the usual crystalised dynamic pose, the goddess being always represented as killing the buffalo. The other two images are in the static pose. On the other hand the figures on the *madanakais* and the dancing girls sculptured on the Degamve temple are always in the dynamic pose.

The *viragals* and the *satikals* that are found in Kaṇṇāṭaka, falling in the Kadamba period, may also be included in this note on the Kadamba sculpture. The former are remarkable for the great energy and vividness of action with which they depict the war scenes, those of Hāṅgal being the most notable. (Pls. 23, 24) The *satikals* are memorial tablets erected to commemorate those women that committed *sati* on the death of their husbands. These stones are a great auxiliary to the historian, as they give a correct idea of the art of warfare and the social customs prevailing in those days. They are fully described in the chapter on social customs<sup>2</sup>.

A word is to be added at the end of this chapter about the school of sculpture developed in Southern Koṅkaṇ under the Goa Kadambas. The few specimens that have been preserved are so remarkable, that they deserve a special mention. This school is characterised by the beauty of the grouping of the different figures as well as by the vividness of expression. Both things may easily be seen in the panel of the time of Jayakēśi II found at Orlim.

<sup>1</sup> Appendix, III, No. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ante, pp. 275, 277, 278, 280.

(Pl. 12) The image of the King boldly projects in the centre of the panel brandishing the sword with the right hand in a menacing attitude. The soldiers engaged in the fight are seen here and there in a harmonious *mêlée*, while at the feet of the King the two defeated chiefs acknowledge the might of the descendant of Guhalla-dēva. This battle scene, so vividly represented, offers a good contrast to the home scene, represented on the top frieze where the King and the Queen are depicted as being peacefully engaged in conversation surrounded by some attendants.

The same characteristics may be noticed in the group of elephants round the image of Gauri, which was found at Chandor and which is at present in the Museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute. It is usual to find a couple of elephants in attendance next to the images of Gauri or Lakshmi carved on the lintels of the temple doors. In this piece of sculpture, however, the sculptor has carved four elephants, two on each side of Gauri, and all of them in such natural poses that the sculpture looks like the representation of the animal life in a forest of Kārnāṭaka rather than a sculpture of Gaja-Gauri in the ordinary conventionalism.

The sculptors of Goa were moreover prodigal in decoration and details. In confirmation of our statement we may cite the instance of the colossal statue of Bhairava (generally called Betal) which is lying on a well near the village church at Betalbatim, Salsette. This statue in spite of appearing nude, has its loins covered with a filigree band with hanging bells; and on its stomach a huge scorpion is so skilfully carved as to convey the impression of being inside. The huge Nandi found by Fr. Heras at Chandor during the excavations of May, 1930, and the smaller Nandi of Pillar, now in the Museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute are again striking examples of this richness of decoration. This school of sculpture, which made such remarkable progress under the Goa Kadambas, would appear to have influenced the Hoysala sculptors, who produced the most beautiful specimens of imagery known in Southern India.



PART VIII

**Kadamba Geography**





42. Halai. Image of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, in the prākāra of the Varāha-Narasimha Temple.



43. Chandor. Lintel of a Temple Door-way representing Gaja-Gauri.  
Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

## CHAPTER I

### General Description

The inscriptions in Kaṇṇāṭaka that have been discovered give us a geographical description of the country. The ancients seem to have thought of India in terms of an island and accordingly named it the ocean girdled Jambudvīpa<sup>1</sup>. In the centre of this island there was Meru, south of which was the pleasant Bhārata-varsha, of which Kuntala-dēśa formed a province<sup>2</sup>. Mount Meru, says another record, was like a stalk for the lotus<sup>3</sup>, in the most beautiful Jambudvīpa<sup>4</sup>.

Kaṇṇāṭaka was described by these geographers as a country, south of Sameru (*i. e.*, Meru), through which flowed the Kāvēri river clothed with woods on both the banks<sup>5</sup>. We learn from one of the inscriptions that to the east of the Kaṇṇāṭaka country was the mountain called Nandī, very lofty and impenetrable, with only one path, filled with *champaka*, *aśvattha*, *nāraṅga*, and *tamāla* trees<sup>6</sup>. The country was filled with prosperous people and decked with bright flowers and the honey-sucking bees<sup>7</sup>.

Kuntala-dēśa in Kaṇṇāṭaka was an ornament to Bhārata-varsha<sup>8</sup>, being the best and the most beautiful of all the lands, Veṅgi, Kaṭinga, Vaṅga, Magadha, Āndhra, Kasmīra, Langala, Nēpāla, Varala, Mālava, Mahārāshṭra, Āryya, Saurāshṭra, Kēraḷa, Kam-bhōja, Turushka, Pāndya, Maleyāla and Dravīla<sup>9</sup>. It was resplendent "with myriads of people, practices of virtue, agreeable

<sup>1</sup> E. C., V, Cn, 197; VII, Sk, 197; VIII, Sb, 28, 152, 179, 276.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., V, Cn, 197.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VII, Sb, 28.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Sb, 179.

<sup>5</sup> E. C., IV, Yd, 54.

<sup>6</sup> E. C., X, Cb, 32.

<sup>7</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 197.

<sup>8</sup> E. C., VIII, Sd, 138; VII, Sk, 100, 179, 197, 249, 346; Hg, 45.

<sup>9</sup> E. C., VII, Sb, 138.

occupation, streams of the (nine) sentiments, pleasure gardens, separated lovers, splendid tanks, full lotus beds, gilded boats for spring festivals, *ghaṭika-sthānas*, the supports of dharma and mines of enjoyment, moats which were as if the sea being overcome had returned here, on account of the collection of gems, groups of the lotus faces of beautiful women fair as the moon, *grāmas*, *nagaras*, *khēḍas*, *karvaṇas*, *naḍambas*, *drōṇamukhas*, *purās*, *paṭṭanas* and *rājadhānis*"<sup>1</sup>. Other inscriptions compare it to the curls of the lady earth<sup>2</sup>, and relate that it has the Sahya mountains on her breasts, adorned with the shining garland, the Tuṅga, on which are the Sphatika and other *tīrthas*<sup>3</sup>.

The inscriptions also describe the Banavasi-nāḍ. "It was reckoned", says one of these records, "as the crest-jewel to Jambudvīpa"<sup>4</sup>. "It was like the face to the lady earth", says another<sup>5</sup>. "It was an ornament to Vanavasi", adds a third. Finally an epigraph at Udri avers that "Banavasi country was like a mine of enjoyment"<sup>6</sup>.

The inscriptions also enable us to form an idea of the extent of the kingdom of the Kadambas during the different periods of their rule, after studying the geographical situation of the places mentioned in these epigraphical records. Thus we are told in the Talagunda inscription that Mayūravarmma was invested with the sovereignty of a province bounded by the Amarawa (or Western Ocean) and the Prehāra (the Tuṅgabhadra) (?)<sup>7</sup>. A fragment of a lithic record of Mayūravarmma that has been brought to light by Dr. M. H. Krishna Iyengar, contains the names of Abhirā and Punata, which were the names of two contemporary states, which probably formed the northern and southern boundaries respectively<sup>8</sup>.

During the long reign of Ravivarmma the territorial limits of the Kadamba Empire were further extended by the acquisition of

<sup>1</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 197.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VI, Kp, 1.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VII, Sk, 225.

<sup>4</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 138.

<sup>5</sup> E. I., VIII, p. 36; E. C., VII, Sk, 176.

<sup>6</sup> As the inscription is engraved in cave characters, and as it undoubtedly refers to a *tataka* or water reservoir associated with the Kadamba Mayurasarmma, we may deduce that it either belonged to the time of Mayurasarmma or of one of his immediate successors. Krishna Iyengar, *Excavations at Chandravalli*, p. 3.

<sup>7</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 262.

<sup>8</sup> E. C., VIII, Sb, 235.

new territories. The reference in the grant of Ravivarṃma to two hamlets Malkava and Multagi close to Talakāḍ, the new capital of the Gangas, shows that the Kadambas had at this time made considerable encroachments on the Ganga territories<sup>1</sup>. This may be considered to be the greatest extent of the kingdom at the height of its glory.

In the 10th century when the Kadambas emerged as rulers they held various territories under their rule. The map showing the dominions of each of the four dynasties of the Kadambas makes it clear that the Kadambas of Goa held a part of Koṅkaṇa; those of Hāṅgal, the Banavasi Twelve Thousand, the Hāṅgal Five Hundred and Haive Five Hundred; the branch of Belur, probably the territory now included in Manjarabad; the Kadambas of Bayalnāḍ the Bayalnāḍ District. The Kadambas of Hāṅgal always had the Hāṅgal Five Hundred and the Banavasi Twelve Thousand under their rule. Haive Five Hundred was at times included in their kingdom, but very often it did not form part of their territory. The Kadambas of Goa at the acme of their greatness had in their possession the Hasi Twelve Thousand, the Koṅkaṇa Nine Hundred, the Kāpardikadvīpa Lakh and a Quarter, the Haive Five Hundred, the Velugrāme Thirty, the Kadarōḷi Thirty, the Unka Thirty, the Polalguṇḍe Thirty, and the Kuṇṭakaḷi Thirty.

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<sup>1</sup> *E. I.*, VIII, p. 80.



## CHAPTER II

### Geographical Lexicon

**B**esides the name of the country and districts, the epigraphical records also contain many names of towns and villages included in the Kadamba kingdom. These names will be seen in the following table <sup>1</sup>:—

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<sup>1</sup> For convenience sake other place names mentioned in the Kadamba inscriptions, though not belonging to the Kadamba dominions, have been included in this table.

Names of Places	Identification
Abbalūr	Ablūr, chief town of the Kod Taluqua in the Dharwar District ( <i>E. I.</i> , V, p. 213). In the time of the Kadambas it was included in the Nāgarkhaṇḍa Seventy ( <i>E.C.</i> , VII, Sk, 255; <i>E. I.</i> , V, 259).
Ajjāḍi	Ajjāḍi in the Dharwar District.
Alande	Aland or Alande, chief town of a Taluqua of the same name, in the Nizam's dominions. The Allund of the Indian Atlas, sheet No. 57, lat. 170, 33, long. 76, 38. (Cf. <i>E. I.</i> , V, p. 243).
Ānebāla	Cannot be identified. It was a village situated somewhere between Hāngal and Baṅkāpur.
Ālūr	A village about 3 miles in a bee-line from Hāngal.
Aṇandūr	The inscription occurs at Bennegere in the Tavanāḍi hōbli, Sorab Taluqua.
Aṇḍaṇige	Aṇḍalige, 8 miles to the east of Baṅkāpur, Dharwar District.
Andāsura	The inscription is found at Balrekoppa in the Chandragutti hōbli, Sorab Taluqua.
Annigere	Annigere in Nawalgund Taluqua, Dharwar District.
Araga	Araga the chief village of the Araga hōbli, Shimoga District. The inscription is at Kūḍḍi, same hōbli.

Remarks	Reference
There were a Śiva and a Jaina temple. Ēkānta Rāma's controversy with the Jainas.	<i>E. I.</i> , V, pp. 255, 258, 230, 234, 235, 243, 259; <i>E.C.</i> , VII, Sk, 225.
* * *	Appendix, III, No. 7.
* * *	<i>E. I.</i> , V, p. 243.
* * *	Appendix, III, No. 17.
* * *	Appendix, III, No. 17.
* * *	<i>E. C.</i> , VIII, Sb, 346.
* * *	Appendix, III, No. 17.
* * *	<i>E. C.</i> , VIII, Sb, 567.
It was the chief town of the Beļvola Three Hundred.	<i>E. I.</i> , XIII, p. 40.
Āraga was a kampaṇa of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand.	<i>E. C.</i> , VII, Sh, 79.

Names of Places	Identification
Arakeṛe	Arakeṛe is near Narēndra, a village in the Dharwar Taluqua.
Arsibīḍi	The ancient Vīkamapura, a decayed village in the Hāṅgal Taluqua, Dharwar District.
Avarētika vishaya	?
Bāda	Bād, 3 miles north-west of Baṅkāpur.
Banavasi	10 miles to the south-east of Sirsi, Sirsi Taluqua, North Kanara District.
Balipura	Beḷagāmi, in the Shikarpur Taluqua, Shimoga District.
Beḷagāmi (or Balligāve)	Ditto
Bālūra	Bālūr, 5 miles south of Hāṅgal, on the high road.
Bāndhavapura	Not yet indentified. Dr. Fleet suggested that it was perhaps Bandhole in the Kṛishṇarājpēt Taluqua, Mysore ( <i>E. I.</i> , V, p. 235, n. 2).
Bandaṇike	Bandaḷike, in the Shikarpur Taluqua, Shimoga District.

Remarks	Reference
* * *	<i>E. I.</i> , XIII, p. 319, 324.
* * *	<i>E. I.</i> , XVII, p. 21, 23.
* * *	<i>E. I.</i> , III, p. 52.
* * *	Appendix, III, No. 17.
It was the capital of the early Kadambas, one of the capitals of the Kadambas of Hāṅgal, and the chief town of the Banavas; Twelve Thousand.	Appendix, III, Nos. 7, 9, 13, 15, 16 and 19.
The capital of Chaṭṭa, the first King of the Hāṅgal branch of the Kadambas.	<i>I. A.</i> , V, p. 18.
Agrahāra city. Also renowned for the five <i>maṭhas</i> and several <i>brahmāpuris</i> .	<i>E. C.</i> , VII, Sk, 120, 100, etc.; Appendix, III, No. 17.
* * *	<i>E. C.</i> , VII, Sk, 197; <i>E. I.</i> , V, pp. 235, 236.
Kadamba Sōmēśvara of the Nāgarkhaṇḍa branch was called "the supreme lord of Bāṇdhava-pura."	<i>E. C.</i> , VIII, Sb, 346.
This seems to be the capital of Bommarasa, who was the founder of the dynasty of the Nāgarkhaṇḍa Kadambas. At this time it was the capital of the Nāgarkhaṇḍa Seventy.	<i>E. C.</i> , VII, Sk, 236.

Names of Places	Identification
<p>Bangalla</p> <p>Baṅkāpura</p>	<p>Bengal</p> <p>Baṅkāpur, the town which gives its name to the Baṅkāpur Taluqua, Dharwar District. The ancient town, Haḷe-Baṅkāpur, lies nearly 2 miles south-by-south-west from the modern town.</p>
<p>Basaur</p>	<p>Basaruru, in the Sorab Taluqua, Shimoga District.</p>
<p>Basavūra One Hundred and Forty</p>	<p>An administrative division with Basvapur as its headquarters, about 14 miles to the east of Dharwar.</p>
<p>Bayalnāḍ</p>	<p>Perhaps Yayanāḍ, commonly called Wynāḍ or Waināḍ. (<i>E.C.</i>, IV, <i>Introd.</i>, p. 3).</p>
<p>Belgali or (Beḷugali)</p>	<p>Belgulee or Belgali, a village in the Baṅkāpur Taluqua, four miles north-west of Shiggaon. Or a village <math>7\frac{1}{2}</math> miles north of Hubli.</p>
<p>Beḷuvanti</p>	<p>Probably the present Belvatti, a small village eight miles north-east of Hāngal.</p>
<p>Belurapaḷḷi</p>	<p>A hamlet probably attached to Posavoḷalu, in the Heggade-Dēvankote Taluqua, Mysore District.</p>

Remarks	Reference
Trade relations with Goa.	Archivo, l. c.
This town was the capital of the Baṅkāpur Kadambas. In Appendix III, No. 17 it is called the oldest city. It was built by Baṅkēyarasa. Cf. ante, p. 83.	<i>E. I.</i> , XII, pp. 174, 168; Appendix, III, Nos. 8, 17.
It formed a part of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand.	<i>E. C.</i> , VIII, Sb, 213, 359.
It included the towns of Dēvagēri, Kōlūr and Kuḷēnur. It also seems to have been sometime a division of the Eḍenāḍ Seventy ( <i>E. C.</i> , VIII, Sb, 359).	<i>E. I.</i> , XV, p. 333.
Also Bīra - Bayal - nāḍ and Chāgi-Bayal-nāḍ.	<i>E. C.</i> , IV, Hg, 56, 77, etc.
* * *	<i>E. I.</i> , VII, pp. 212, 214.
* * *	Appendix, III, No. 17.
We suppose that Belurapaḷḷi was a village attached to Posavoḷalu, because the viragal says that Harima attacked and besieged Posavoḷalu and its hamlet Sogapaḷḷi (Sogaḷḷi), when Sovayya released the cows of Belurapaḷḷi, which must have	<i>E. C.</i> , IV, Hg, 79.

Names of Places	Identification
Belvaḍi	Perhaps a village near Kūḍalūr, perhaps in the Devanagere Taluqua.
Beḷvola	Most probably in Ron Taluqua, Dharwar District.
Beṇṇekallu	Bennikul, five miles south-east from Kukkanūr in the Hyderabad State.
Beppaṭṭi	Behaṭṭi in the Dhārṇwār District, probably close to Laksh-mēśvar.
Bharangi	Bharangi, Sorab Taluqua, Shimoga District.
Biraūr	Birūr near Kadur, Kadur District.
Chandraguptapura	Chandragutti, Sorab Taluqua, Shimoga District.
Chandrapura	Chandor, Salsette, Goa.
Chadrapur	Chandavar, Honavar Taluqua, 5 miles south-east of Kumta.
Chipalona	Chiplun, Southern Koṅkan, Rathnagiri District.
Dāravāḍa	Dharwar, the capital of Dharwar District.

Remarks	Reference
been another hamlet.	
* * *	<i>E. C.</i> , XI, Dg, 32.
Three Hundred District with Naregal as capital. Hence in Ron Taluqua.	<i>E. I.</i> , XIII, pp. 53, 40; XIV, pp. 365, 366.
* * *	<i>E. I.</i> , XIII, p. 40.
* * *	<i>E. I.</i> , IX, p. 201.
* * *	<i>E. C.</i> , VIII, Sb, 325.
In the Kabbunalige-nāḍ in the Banavasi Twelve Thousand.	<i>E. C.</i> , VIII, Sb, 59.
* * *	<i>E. C.</i> , VII, Sb, 79.
The early capital of the Kadambas of Goa. The inscription says that it excelled the city of the gods.	Appendix, III, No. 1.
Trade relations with Goa.	Archivo, l. c.
Trade relations with Goa.	Archivo, l. c.
* * *	<i>E. I.</i> , XIII, p. 316.

Names of Places	Identification
Dhulēśvar	Dollēśvar, on the Canal, about 3 miles south-east of Hāngal.
Donavura	Donūr, in the Bāgewāḍi Taluqua, Bijapur District.
Doravale	Probably a hamlet near Mangalūr, in the Chandrāgutti hōbli, Sorab Taluqua, Shimoga District.
Dulucas	Not identified.
Eḍenāḍ Seventy	North-east of Banavasi ( <i>E.C.</i> , VIII, Sb, 571).
Eḍevoḷal	North-east of Banavasi.
Eḷambalḷi	Elavala, since the inscription occurs at this place.
Ekkaddhāhāram	Probably a village in the vicinity of Talagunda, as the village was granted to the temple at Talagunda.
Gaḷidda (Gauḍa)	Bengal.
Gedeya	A group of 12 villages.
Ginnalaguṇḍi	The inscription is at Haya in the Sorab Taluqua, Shimoga District. But the place cannot be identified.
Gōgāve	Gogaw (Indian Atlas, sheet

Remarks	Reference
* * *	Appendix, III, No. 17.
* * *	<i>E.I.</i> , XVI, p. 74.
A grant was made by Kadamba Chatṭa to a temple at Mangalūr.	<i>E.C.</i> , VIII, Sb, 465.
Trade relations with Goa.	Archivo, I. c.
* * *	<i>E.C.</i> , VIII, Sb, 213, 359.
Eḍvoḷal-vishaya belonged to the Ālupas ( <i>I.A.</i> , VII, p. 303). This was a Seventy District including Kyāsanūr, and was usually reckoned as forming part of the Banavasi province.	<i>E.I.</i> , XVI, p. 281.
* * *	<i>E.C.</i> , VIII, Sb, 384.
* * *	<i>E.C.</i> , VII, Sk, 264.
Trade relations with Goa.	Archivo, I. c.
* * *	<i>E.C.</i> , VIII, Sb, 477; <i>E.I.</i> , XI, p. 5.
* * *	<i>E.C.</i> , VIII, Sb, 306.
Ēkānta-Rāmayya was gran-	<i>E. I.</i> , V, p. 257.

Names of Places	Identification
	No. 42). 17 miles south-south-east from Ablūr in the Shikarpur Taluqua, Shimoga District. Mysore (Cf. <i>E.I.</i> , V, p. 244).
Gōkāge	Gokak, in the Belgaum District.
Gōkarṇa	Gōkarṇa, about 10 miles north of Kumta, North Kanara District
Gōpakadvīpa	The island of Goa.
Gove, Gōpakapaṭṭāna, Gōpakapuri, Gōpakpur	Goa Velha, called in Konkani Orlem Goem.
Gurgēra (Gurjjarra)	Gujarat.
Haḷḷihāla	Haḷḷihāla, in the Dharwar District.
Hannihaḷḷi	Honnali, in the Shimoga District ( <i>Rice, Mysore II</i> , p. 345).
Hānungal (See Pānungal)	Hāngal, the capital of the Hāngal Taluqua, in Dharwar District.
Heggavāḍi	Probably a village near Narasipur, in the Heggade-Dēvan-kote Taluqua, Mysore District.
Hirimātāy	It cannot be identified. It must have been a small village in the Hāngal Taluqua.
Hosanād Seventy	A kampaṇa of Hāngal Five Hundred. The town cannot be traced.

Remarks	Reference
ted the village by Bijjala, in the Sattalige Seventy, of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand.	
Akkā-dēvi laid seige to this fort.	<i>E.I.</i> , XVII, p. 121.
A famous place of pilgrimage.	Appendix, III, No. 1.
Trade relations with Goa.	Archivo, l. c.
* * *	Appendix, III, No. 2.
Capital of the Goa Kadambas.	<i>E.I.</i> , XIII, 309; <i>J.B.B.R.A.S.</i> , IX, p. 283; Archivo, l. c.
* * *	Appendix, III, No. 7.
The Hannihalli Twelve was a kampaṇa of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand.	<i>E.C.</i> , VII, Sk, 117.
It was the principal capital of the Hāṅgal Kadamba kings.	<i>I. A.</i> , VIII, p. 23; <i>E. C.</i> , VIII, Sb, 325; <i>E.I.</i> , XIII, p.13; Appendix, III, Nos. 7, 9, 13, 15, 16, 19.
The inscription is at this place. Bichgāuṇḍa is said to have rescued the cows.	<i>E.C.</i> , IV, Hg, 50.
* * *	Appendix, III, No. 17.
* * *	<i>E.I.</i> , V, p. 259.

Names of Places	Identification
Hayve	North Kanara.
Hire-Māguḍi	Hire-Māguḍi, in the Sorab Taluqua.
Hulambi Seventy	Hullambi about 4 miles north of Kalghatgi.
Hūli	About five miles east of Saundatti, Belgaum District.
Huligere	Lakshmēśvar. (Cf. Fleet, <i>Kanarese Dynasties</i> , p. 304, n. 6).
Huppavadayavara	Very probably a village close to Mangurdi in the Dharwar Taluqua.
Indēśvaragiri	(?) Baṅkāpur.
Inguṇa	Could it be the village of Inguṇige in the Nizam's Dominions, where an inscription of Jakkala-dēvi is found? Fleet, <i>Kanarese Dynasties</i> , p. 448, n. 6.
Isapura	?
Itipalli	(?) In the Hannihalḷi kampaṇa. (See Hannihalḷi)
Jaragur	?

Remarks	Reference
* * *	<i>E. C.</i> , VIII, Sb, 468. Cf. Fleet, <i>Kanarese Dynasties</i> , p. 282, n. 2; Rice, <i>Mysore and Coorg</i> , p. 21.
* * *	<i>E.C.</i> , VII, Sb, 414.
* * *	Appendix, III, No. 7.
* * *	Appendix, III, No. 6.
* * *	<i>E.I.</i> , V, p. 243.
* * *	Appendix, III, No. 5.
Since there is a sanctuary of Indēśvara.	<i>E.I.</i> , XVI, p. 74.
* * *	<i>E. C.</i> , VI, Bl, 245.
Fight between the Kadamba troops and the Śāntara army. The besieged town seems to have been in the Śāntalige One Thousand.	<i>E. C.</i> , VIII, Sb, 141.
Itipalli in the Honnihaḷḷi kam- paṇa. The inscription exists at Beḷagāmi. Hence the village must be in the neighbourhood of this town.	<i>E. C.</i> , VII, Sk, 117.
Perhaps an agrahāra village	<i>E. C.</i> , VIII, Sb, 465.

Name of Places	Identification
Jayapura	?
Jayantipura	Banavasi, in North Kanara. (See Banavasi)
Jiddūḷige	Probably Jedugur identified with Jedda, in the Sorab Taluqua, Shimoga District.
Kachchavi	(?) In the Hannihaḷḷi kampa- ṇa.
Kaḍale	?
Kadalakalim	?
Kadaravalli (or Kudolavatti)	Kadaroli, Sampgaon Taluqua of the Belgaum District.
Kadavala	?
Kaḷaṇḷarapura	Kaḷaṇḷar or Kalinjar, a town with a well-known hill-fort in the Bānda District, Bundēl- khāṇḍ.
Kālavaṅgā	(?) May perhaps be identified with Kadaroli village in the

Remarks	Reference
in the neighbourhood of Mangaluru in the Sorab Taluqua of the Shimoga District.	
A village perhaps in the vicinity of Kirttipura.	<i>E. C.</i> , IV, Hg, 58.
Banavasi the capital of the early Kadamba kings.	<i>E. I.</i> , XIII, p. 300.
* * *	<i>E. C.</i> , VII, Sk, 236.
As the inscription is found at Belagāmi, the village is most probably in the vicinity of this town.	<i>E. C.</i> , VII, Sk, 117.
A place in the Heggaḍe-Devankote Taluqua, Mysore District, since the inscription is found there.	<i>E. C.</i> , IV, Hg, 56.
Copper-plate found at Hire-sakuna.	<i>E. C.</i> , VIII, Sb, 33.
* * *	<i>E. I.</i> , XIII, p. 319.
The record is at Kittūr, Heggaḍe-Devankote Taluqua.	Appendix, III, No. 21.
The Kaḷachuryas styled themselves "lords of Kālañjara, best of towns".	<i>E. C.</i> , IV, Hg, 56. Appendix, III, No. 10.
This village was divided into three parts, which were gi-	<i>I. A.</i> , VII, p. 38.

Names of Places	Identification
	Sampgaon Taluqua, Belgaum District.
Kannevoḷa	?
Kāpardikadvīpa (or Kavaḍi-dvīpa)	Northern division of the Koṅkaṇ.
Kaṛagudure	Kargudari, Hāṅgal Taluqua, Dharwar District.
Kauvalagēri	Kowlgeri (Bombay Survey Map) or Kowlgeeree (Indian Atlas), Dharwar Taluqua.
Kennele	Perhaps in the Dharwar Taluqua, Dharwar District.
Kētapāda	(?) A village in the neighbourhood of Tadagani, where the inscription exists.
Keheta (or Khētagrāma)	(?) Probably a village near Halsi.
Kikki-nāḍ	Kikkere, in Mysore. (Cf. Rice, <i>Mysore</i> , II, p. 296).
Kīrttipura	Kīrttipur in the Heggade-Devankote Taluqua, Mysore District.
Kirusanipagāḍi	?

Remarks	Reference
ven, one to the god, one to the community of ascetics of the Śvētapaṭa sect, and one to the Nirgatha sect.	
The record is in the Heggade-Devankote Taluqua.	<i>E. C.</i> , IV, Hg. 56.
Name was derived from Kapardin I, the ancestor of the Śilāharas of Thana and those parts.	<i>E. I.</i> , XIII, p. 309; Fleet, <i>Kanarese Dynasties</i> , pp. 543, 347, n. 2.
* * *	<i>I. A.</i> , X, p. 254.
* * *	<i>E. I.</i> , XIII, p. 316.
The reason is that all the places mentioned in this record are in the Dharwar District.	<i>E. I.</i> , XIII, p. 316.
* * *	<i>E. C.</i> , VII, Sk, 66.
A village granted by Kākus-tha to Srutakīrtti.	<i>I. A.</i> , VI, pp. 24, 27.
* * *	<i>E. C.</i> , IV, Hg. 56.
* * *	<i>E. C.</i> , IV, Hg. 56.
A District composed of four	<i>J.B.B.R.A.S.</i> , IX, p. 303.

Names of Places	Identification
Kishkindhā Hills	Kishkindhā "is a small hamlet in Dharwad, on the south bank of the river Tungabhadra, near Anagandi three miles from Vijayanagara." (Dey, <i>Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India</i> , pp. 100-101).
Kisumaṅgaḷam	Kusugaḷḷa, in the Dharwar District.
Kisukāḍ	Kisukāḍ Seventy, says Dr. Fleet, was a small district of which the chief town was Paṭṭadakal, the ancient Kisuvoḷal and Paṭṭada-kisuvoḷal in the Bādāmi Taluqua, Bijāpūr District.
Kisuvoḷal (See Kisukāḍ)	* * *
Kittadiyur	?
Kittūr (or Kīrttipura)	Kittūr, Heggade-Devankote Taluqua, Mysore District.
Kodmāla	(?) Kodagere, Belandur hōbli Shikarpur Taluqua, Shimoga District.
Kōḍanallūr	Kōḍanhalḷi attached to Ben-nahalḷi, Belūr Taluqua, Hassan District.

Remarks	Reference
towns. The inscription that gives this information belongs to Śivachitta.	
Kishkindhā comprises the hills on the opposite side of the valley separating it from Hampi.	<i>E. I.</i> , III, pp. 186, 187.
In the Belvola District.	<i>E. I.</i> , IX, p. 201.
* * *	<i>E. I.</i> , XVII, p. 123; <i>E. I.</i> , XV, p. 78. <i>I. A.</i> , XXX, p. 259.
* * *	* * *
Inscription mentions revenue for the temple of this village. The inscription is in Heggade-Devankote Taluqua.	<i>E. C.</i> , IV, Hg, 56.
The capital of the Bayalnād Kadambas, a very ancient city.	<i>E. C.</i> , IV, Hg, 56.
* * *	<i>E. C.</i> , VII, Sk, 29.
* * *	<i>E. C.</i> , V, Bl, 121.

Names of Places	Identification
Kodavaḷḷi	?
Kōgali-nāḍ	?
Kukkanūru	Kukkanūr lies in the south-west corner of the Nizam's Dominions, about 20 miles to the east of Gadag, Dharwar District.
Koḷa-nallūr. (See Kāḍanallūr)	* * *
Kolhāpur	Capital of the Kolhāpur State (Cf. Kundangar, <i>Identification of Kolhapur &amp; Brahmapuri, The Rajaramlan</i> , XV, pp. 8-11).
Koḷūr	Koḷūr, one mile to the east from Karagi, Dharwar District.
Koṇatapukam	(?) A village close to Mala-vaḷḷi.
Konginagaram	?
Koṅkaṇ	The present Goa territory.
Kontakuḷi Thirty	(?) Kuntanahashaḷḷi, a small village 2 miles north-east of Hāṅgal.
Kote	?
Kūḍalūr	A village in Channapatna Taluqua, Bangalore District.

Remarks	Reference
Village perhaps close to Kup- pagedde, where this inscription exists. Kudavaḷḷi was included in the Banavasi Twelve Thou- sand.	<i>E.C.</i> , VIII, Sb, 179.
Perhaps corresponds with Huvina-hadagalli Taluqua, still known as Kōgali.	<i>E.C.</i> , XI, Dg, 121.
* * *	<i>E.I.</i> , XIII, p. 40.
In the vishaya of Vallāvi.	<i>E.C.</i> , VI, p. 19.
Famous as a place of pilgri- mage in the Kadamba period.	Appendix, III, No. 1.
* * *	Appendix, III, No. 8.
The record exists at Malava- ḷḷi, a village in the Shikarpur Taluqua.	<i>E. C.</i> , VII, Sk, 264.
Inscription is at Malavaḷḷi.	<i>E.C.</i> , VII, Sk, 264.
Principality of the Kadambas of Goa.	Appendix, II, No. 1; <i>Archivo.</i> I. c., etc.
A kampaṇa.	<i>E.I.</i> , XIII, p. 317.
* * *	<i>E.C.</i> , IV, Hg, 56.
Agrahāra city.	<i>E.C.</i> , XI, Dg, 32.

Names of Places	Identification
Kundarage	Kundarage, Yellapur Taluqua, North Kanara.
Kūṇḍi	?
Kundatapukam	?
Kundūr (or Kundoorge)	Narēndra, a village, in Dharwar Taluqua, Dharwar District, situated near the high road from Dharwar to Belgaum, about 4½ miles north-west-by-north from Dharwar. ( <i>E. I.</i> , XIII, p. 298.).
Kurole	?
Kulēnūr	Kulēnūr, Karajgi Taluqua, Dharwar District, 6 miles north-west of Hāveri.
Kuppagedde	Kuppagedde, Sorab Taluqua, Shimoga District.
Kuppattūru	Kuppattūr, Sorab Taluqua, Shimoga District.
Ladda (Lāda or Lāṭa)	Southern Gujerat.
Laghumorambika. (See Morambika)	* * *
Lanka	Ceylon.
Lokkigundi	Lakkundi, 6 miles south-east of Gadag, in the Dharwar District.

Remarks	Reference
Kundarage Seventy.	<i>E.I.</i> , VII, p. 212.
Kūṇḍi Three Thousand District. Hereditary territory of the Raṭṭas consisting mostly of a great part of the Belgaum District with Saundatti for its capital.	<i>E.I.</i> , XIII, p. 18.
The inscription is at Malavalli	<i>E.C.</i> , VII, Sk, 264.
Kundūr Five Hundred formed part of Palasige Twelve Thousand. Royal residence of the Kadambas of Goa.	<i>E.I.</i> , VII, p. 212; <i>E.I.</i> , XIII, pp. 298, 316; <i>E.I.</i> , XVII, p. 9.
In Edenāḍ.	<i>E.C.</i> , VIII, Sb, 58.
* * *	<i>E.I.</i> , XV, p. 329.
* * *	<i>E.C.</i> , VIII, Sb, 179.
Agrahāra.	<i>E.C.</i> , VII, Sb, 377.
Trade relations with Goa.	Archivo, I. c.
* * *	Appendix, III, No. 2.
* * *	Appendix, III, No. 2; <i>E.I.</i> , X, p. 309; <i>J.B.B.R.A.S.</i> , IX, p. 272.
* * *	<i>E. I.</i> , XV, p. 350.

Names of Places	Identification
Lunke	A place near Molakalpur, Molakalpur Taluqua, Chitaldroog District.
Madava	(?) A village near Mangaḷūr.
Magari	(?) Malgi about a mile from Ratihaḷḷi, where the inscription is found.
Malavaḷḷi	Malavaḷḷi, Shikarpur Taluqua, Shimoga District.
Malaya Country	The Western Ghats.
Maḷchere	?
Manali (or Mannali)	?
Mangaḷuru	Mangaḷūr, in the Sorab Taluqua, Shimoga District.
Manguṇḍage	Manguṇḍi, a village on the Dharwar-Kalghatgi road, 6 miles south of Dharwar.
Māṇikyapura	Probably Manguṇḍi.
Manyasa	(?) Perhaps near Malavaḷḷi.
Mavaḍe	Marevād, about 5 miles east-by-north from Narēndra (Cf. <i>E. I.</i> , XIII, p. 320).
Mareyavāḍa	?
Māsavāḍi	Māsavāḍi One Hundred and Forty kampaṇa may be located

Remarks	Reference
It was the chief town of Lun- ke Seventy.	<i>E. C.</i> , XI, Mk, 41.
Kirtti-dēva makes a grant to the local temple. The inscrip- tion is in the village of Manga- lūr.	<i>E. C.</i> , VI, Sb, 465.
* * *	Appendix, III, No. 20.
In the Hosanāḍ Seventy.	<i>E. C.</i> , VII, Sk, 225; <i>E. I.</i> , V, p. 259.
* * *	Appendix, III, No. 7.
* * *	<i>E. C.</i> , IV, Hg, 56.
In the Chāgi Bayal-nāḍ.	<i>E. C.</i> , IV, Hg, 56, 71.
* * *	<i>E. C.</i> , VII, Sb, 465.
* * *	Appendix, III, Nos. 5 and 6.
* * *	Appendix, III, No. 6.
The inscription is at Mala- valli. It records a grant to Śrī- Nāgadatta.	<i>E. C.</i> , VII, Sk, 264.
* * *	<i>I. A.</i> , VI, p. 32.
* * *	<i>E. I.</i> , XIII, pp. 320, 324.
As there is the mention of the	<i>E. I.</i> , XV, p. 78.

Names of Places	Identification
	in the Dharwar District.
Matrisarit	A river that cannot be identified.
Mattige	?
Māvinahaḷḷi	?
Mirinje	?
Mogalūr	Mugūr or Muḷḷūr, near Talakāḍ, capital of the Talakāḍ Taluqua, Mysore District.
Morambika	Morembi, Ilhas, Goa.
Muvagu	?
Mudagod.	(?) A village probably in the Shikarpur Taluqua, Shimoga District.
Mugada.	A village very probably close to Mangunḍi in the Dharwar Taluqua. But it is not mentioned in the modern maps.
Maḷkāvu.	A hamlet at a short distance from Talakāḍ, in the Mysore State.

Remarks	Reference
ancient Dharmapura or Dambal, the kampaṇa of Māsavādi One Hundred and Forty may be located in the Dharwar District. Dambal is about 13 miles south-east of Gadag, Dharwar District.	
* * *	<i>I. A.</i> , VI, p. 25.
The inscription is at Kittūr in Heggaḍe-Devankote Taluqua Mysore District.	<i>E. C.</i> , IV, Hg, 56.
The inscription is at Bejagāmi.	<i>E. C.</i> , VII, Sk, 117.
Present Miraj, Southern Maratha country.	<i>E. I.</i> , XII, p. 290.
The kingdom of the Kadam- bas under Ravivarmma extend- ed as far as, or further than, Talakād, as it is evident from this grant.	<i>E. I.</i> , VIII, p. 147.
* * *	Appendix, III, No. 2.
* * *	<i>E. C.</i> , IV, Hg, 56.
The name appears in the in- scriptions of a village contiguous to Malavalli, in the Shikarpur Taluqua.	<i>E. I.</i> , V, p. 259.
* * *	Appendix, III, No. 5.
This shows the extent of Ravivarmma's kingdom.	<i>E. I.</i> , VIII, p. 147.

Names of Places	Identifications
Multagi	A hamlet near Talakād, in the Mysore State.
Mugunda	Didgur, in the Karajgi Taluqua, Dharwar District.
Nāgarkhaṇḍa	A collection of villages to the east of Banavasi with Bandaṇike as capital.
Nagavaḷḷi	* * *
Naregal	A village fourteen miles north-east of Hāngal, Dharwar District.
Narēndra	A village in the Dharwar District.
Nareyagal	Naregal, 10 miles south-east of Ron, Dharwar District, the chief town of the Nareyangal Twelve.
Navilūr (or Navalūr)	Navlur or Nowloor, two miles east of Dharwar.
Niḍaguṇḍige	Niḍaguṇḍi, a village 4 miles south-south-west of Shiggaon, head-quarters of the Baṅkāpur Taluqua, Dharwar District.
Nirali (or Nirilī)	A village in the Hāngal Taluqua, Dharwar District, 11½ miles to the north-east of Hāngal town.

Remarks	Reference
* * *	<i>E. I.</i> , VIII, p. 147.
Mugunḍa Twelve was a Kam- paṇa of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand.	<i>E. I.</i> , VI, pp. 251, 252, 253.
* * *	<i>E. I.</i> , V, p. 259; <i>E. C.</i> , XI, Dg, 35; <i>E. C.</i> , VII, 236, 225; <i>E. C.</i> , VIII, 384.
The inscription is at Elevala in the Sorab Talaqua, Shimoga District.	<i>E. C.</i> , VIII, Sb, 384.
* * *	Appendix, III, No. 17.
* * *	<i>E. I.</i> , XIII, p. 298. Appen- dix, III, No. 4.
Chief town of the Nareyangal Twelve.	Appendix, III, No. 17; <i>E. I.</i> , XIII, p. 40
* * *	<i>E. I.</i> , XIII, p. 316; Appendix, III, No. 6.
Nidagunḍige Twelve, a kam- paṇa of the Hāṅgal Five Hundred.	<i>E. I.</i> , VII, pp. 208, 212; <i>E. I.</i> , XIII, pp. 15, 175; Appendix, III, No. 17.
* * *	Appendix, III, No. 17; <i>E. I.</i> , XVI, p. 66.

Name of Places	Identification
Niralgi (or Nirili)	A village in the Hāngal Taluqua, Dharwar District.
Nilguṇḍa	Nilguṇḍa a village of some size in the Harpanhaḷḷi Taluqua, Bellary District. It is at a distance of seven miles from Harpanhaḷḷi.
Nirusagara	It was probably situated in the vicinity of Dharwar.
Nuggiahallī	It must have been a very small village which has now been absorbed by some other village.
Pakuvadi	?
Palambi (or Belgaḷambi)	* * *
Palasige (or Halsi or Halasige)	Halsi, Belgaum Taluqua, Dharwar District.
Palasika	Halsi.
Paḷḷayura	?
Palmaḍi	?
Paṇṇāleya-kote	Panhaḷa, a hill-fort 12 miles north-west of Kolhāpur.
Pānungal. (See Hānungal)	Hāngal, head-quarters of the

Remarks	Reference
* * *	<i>E. I.</i> , XVI, p. 66.
This was included in the Vikkiga Seventy.	<i>E. I.</i> , XII, p. 143.
* * *	Appendix, III, No. 5.
* * *	Appendix, III, No. 5.
The inscription is at Yadūr in Coorg.	<i>E. C.</i> , IX, Cg, 57.
The Palambi Seventy was a kampana.	<i>I. A.</i> , X, p. 254.
* * *	Appendix, III, Nos. 5, 6, 4.
Another capital of the Ka- dambas of Goa.	<i>I. A.</i> , VI, p. 24.
Some village forming part of Nidagundige Twelve. But now it cannot be traced. It must be in the Dharwar District.	<i>E. I.</i> , XIII, p. 169.
The inscription says it was in the Sēndraka vishaya.	<i>E. C.</i> , V, B1, 245.
* * *	<i>E. I.</i> , XV, p. 78.
Pānungal was a Five Hundred	<i>E. I.</i> , XIII, p. 31.

Names of Places	Identification
	Hāṅgal Taluqua, Dharwar District.
Pandiat	Probably the old kingdom of Puanit in Arabia.
Paralūra	(?) Somewhere in the Dharwar Taluqua.
Pāvēri	Hāveri, headquarters of the Karajgi Taluqua, Dharwar District.
Peṇbasaaru	Habsur, in the Dharwar District.
Perbaḷḷi	Hebbaḷḷi, in the Dharwar District.
Perūr	Herur, Hungund Taluqua, in Bijapur District.
Pindiana	Not identified.
Poḷalguṇḍe	(?) Hoḷal in the Bellary District.
Poḷalūr (or Poralūr or Brihat-Poralur)	Dēvageri or Dēvagere, 6 miles west-by-south of Karajgi, in the Karajgi Taluqua, Dharwar District.
Poḷambi	Palambi same as Halambi.
Posavoḷalu	It was an administrative unit now in the Heggade-Devankote Taluqua.

Remarks	Reference
<p>province. It was the hereditary kingdom of the Kadambas of Hāṅgaḷ.</p> <p>Mentioned by the great papyrus Harris, pl. 77, vv 10 ff.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">* * *</p> <p style="text-align: center;">* * *</p> <p style="text-align: center;">* * *</p> <p style="text-align: center;">* * *</p> <p style="text-align: center;">* * *</p> <p>It was a <i>kampana</i> consisting of thirty villages.</p> <p>The inscription at Devagere (<i>E. I.</i>, XI, p. 6) speaks of this village as Poḷalūr. Hence this must have been its ancient name.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">* * *</p> <p>The inscription is at Sagallī in the Heggade-Devankote Taluqa. Another inscription at the same place says that it is in Bīra-Bayalnād.</p>	<p>Archivo, l. c.</p> <p><i>I. A.</i>, VII, p. 36.</p> <p>Appendix, III, No. 19.</p> <p><i>E. I.</i>, IX, p. 201.</p> <p><i>E. I.</i>, IX, p. 201.</p> <p><i>I. A.</i>, XVII, p. 271.</p> <p>Archivo, l. c.</p> <p><i>E. I.</i>, XIII, p. 323.</p> <p><i>I. A.</i>, XI, p. 70; <i>I. A.</i>, VII, p. 35; <i>E. I.</i>, XI, p. 6.</p> <p><i>I. A.</i>, X, p. 256.</p> <p><i>E. C.</i>, IV, Hg, 56, 79, 80.</p>

Names of Places	Identification
Pottiyūr	Hottur, a village in the Baṅkāpur Taluqua, Dharwar District.
Pramāra	Malwa.
Premāra	(?) Tuṅgabhadra.
Pustta	Pisṭapura, now Pithapuram, on the east coast, Godavari District, Madras Presidency.
Qheat	Probably the country of Qifti in Arabia.
Querālla (Kēraḷa)	Malabar.
Raktapura	Lakṣmēśvar, Taluqua town in the State of Miraj (Jr.), included in the Dharwar District.
Ramēśvar	Cabo de Rama, South of Goa.
Sabbi	Now associated with Unkal, Hubli Taluqua, Dharwar District.
Sāgara	Sagare, Heggade-Devankote Taluqua, Mysore District.

Remarks	Reference
* * *	<i>E. I.</i> , XVI, pp. 73-76, 78, 82-88.
Pramāra is the reading of Mr. Rice. He supposes that it was Malwa, ruled by the Paramāras (Cf. Luard-Lele, <i>The Paramāras of Dhār</i> , pp. 4-6).	<i>E. C.</i> , VII, Intro. p. 8; Sk, 176.
Premāra is the reading of Dr. Kielhorn. He supposes that the eastern boundary of Mayūravarmma's kingdom was the Tuṅgabhadra.	<i>E. I.</i> , VIII, 29.
Trade relations with Goa. This city is also mentioned in the Allahabad inscription of Samudra-Gupta. (Fleet, <i>Gupta Inscriptions</i> , p. 13, v. 19.)	Archivo, l. c.
The sea of Quiti as mentioned in the great papyrus Harris, pl. 77. vv. 10 ff.	Archivo, l. c.
Trade relations with Goa.	Archivo, l. c.
* * *	<i>E. I.</i> , IX, p. 201.
Mallik Kafur built a mosque after reaching this point.	Ferishta-Briggs, I, pp. 373-373.
A contiguous village which has become absorbed in Unkal ( <i>E. I.</i> , XIII, p. 319).	<i>E. I.</i> , XII, p. 323.
Farmers of Sagar were witnesses to the grant.	<i>E. C.</i> , IV, Hg, 56.

Names of Places	Identification
Sahale	(?) In the Shikarpur Taluqua, Shimoga District.
Saharu-nāḍ	?
Sambata-nāḍ	?
Sangamēśvar	A town about 20 miles north-east of Ratnagiri.
Sangaūr	Sungūr, in the Karajgi Taluqua, Dharwar District.
Sankalūr	Sunkunur, 2 miles south-south-east of Sūdi.
Sāntaḷige One Thousand	This was a province made up of One Thousand villages in the south of the present Shimoga District. The chief town cannot be traced.
Śatōmahila	?
Sattaḷige Seventy	?
Satti	A village mentioned in one of the Mānguṇḍi inscriptions, Dharwar Taluqua, which cannot be identified.
Sēnavallī	?

Remarks	Reference
One of the group of villages granted to Haridatta.	<i>E. C.</i> , VII, Sk, 264.
One of the districts under the Belur Kadambas.	<i>E.C.</i> , IX, Cg, 57; I, No. 57.
Trade relations with Goa.	Archivo, I. c.
It was probably one of those villages forming the Mugunḍa Twelve Thousand kampaṇa.	<i>E. I.</i> , VI, pp. 253, 252.
* * *	<i>E. I.</i> , XV, pp. 76-77.
* * *	<i>E. I.</i> , XI, p. 5; <i>E. C.</i> , VIII, Sb, 477; VII, Sk, 191; Appendix, III, No. 19.
The inscription is at Taḍagaṇi, Uḍagaṇi hōbli, Shikarpur Taluqua, Shimoga District. Śātomahila was probably a village close by, or a kampaṇa of one hundred villages as the name implies.	<i>E. C.</i> , VII, Sk, 66.
This was a kampaṇa of the Banavasi Twelve Thousand.	<i>E. I.</i> , V, p. 257.
* * *	Appendix, III, No. 5.
In the Hanihaḷḷi kampaṇa. The inscription is at Beḷagāmi.	<i>E. C.</i> , VII, Sk, 117.

Names of Places	Identification
Sēndraka-vishaya	A province to the south-east of Banavasi.
Sētu	Ramēśvaram.
Shivapur	Not identified.
Sidani	(?) Kutury, in the Sorab Taluqua, Shimoga District.
Sidhakēdara	(?) Probably in the Karajgi Taluqua, Dharwar District.
Sidhagiri	Siddapur (?), Kōḍ Taluqua, about 2 miles from Ratihalli, where the inscription is found.
Siguṇūr Sivunūr	Jigalūr or Jiggālūr, in the Ron Taluqua.
Simbualla (or Simhaḷa)	Ceylon.
Sindabur	Chandrapur, <i>i. e.</i> Chandor,

Remarks	Reference
The part of Karnāṭaka ruled over by the Sēndrakas.	<i>E. C.</i> , V, Bl, 245.
* * *	Appendix, III, No. 2.
The viragal is at Katuru. Perhaps Sidini was the old name of the Katuru village, or it may be an obscure hamlet near Katuru that formed part of the Edenāḍ kampaṇa.	Archivo, l. c. <i>E. C.</i> , VIII, Sb, 221. <i>E. C.</i> , VIII, Sb, 221.
The plates were found at Dēvagiri, in the Karajgi Taluqua.	<i>I. A.</i> , VII, p. 34.
* * *	Appendix, III, No. 20.
Identical with Sivunur. The only objection to the view that Sigunūr or Sivunūr was Jigalūr is that Sivunūr had on its south-west and west a "great river," <i>per-balla</i> , which seems to point out to Hirahaḷḷa a tributary of the Malaprabha; whereas Jigalūr lies on the western side of a branch of the Malaprabha some little distance to the east of the Hirahaḷḷa ( <i>E. I.</i> , XV, p. 87). Sivunūr was a kampaṇa of thirty villages.	<i>E. I.</i> , XV, p. 334.
Goa had trade relations with Ceylon.	Archivo, l. c.
Mentioned by Ibn Baluta as	Defrémery-Sanguinetti, <i>Voya-</i>

Names of Places	Identification
	Salsette, Goa.
Siriguppe	Sirigūpa of the Indian Atlas sheet 58, about 2½ miles E.S.E. from Sūḍi ( <i>E.I.</i> , XV, p. 76.)
Siviur	?
Śivapura Bharangi	Bharangi, Sorab Taluqua, Shimoga District.
Sogepalli	Sogalli, Heggade-Devankote Taluqua, Mysore District.
Somapatti	?
Sonnaḷigeyapura	Cannot be traced in the modern maps.
Sourashtra	Very probably a township near Mangunḍi, Kathiawar.
Śrīparvata	Śrīsailam, modern Śrīśaila, in the Karnūl District. It is situated west of the Eastern Ghauts between them and the river Kṛishṇa. ( <i>E.I.</i> , VIII, p. 28.)
Sthānaka	Thana, headquarters of the Thana District.
Sthanakundur	Talogunda, in the Shikarpur Taluqua, Shimoga District.

Remarks	Reference
the capital of the Goa kings.	<i>ges d'Ibn Batoutah</i> , IV, pp. 106-108; Gibb, <i>Ibn Battuta</i> , p. 241.
The viragal is at Sântapura, Sorab Taluqua, Shimoga District.	<i>E.I.</i> , XV, pp. 76, 77.
Sirivuru is described as a camp.	<i>E.C.</i> , VIII, Sb, 445.
It was called Śivapura Bhārangi probably because of the temple of Śiva (Mallikārjuna).	<i>E.C.</i> , VIII, Sb, 325.
A hamlet in Posavoḷalu in Bīra-Bayalnād.	<i>E.C.</i> , IV, Hg, 79.
One of those villages that were granted to Nāgadatta by the Kadamba king. Inscription is at Malavaḷḷi, Shikarpur Taluqua, Shimoga District.	<i>E.C.</i> , VII, Sk, 214.
* * *	Appendix, III, No. 5.
* * *	Archivo, l. c.
Mayūravarmma retired to Srīparvata, where he grew powerful.	<i>E.I.</i> , VIII, p. 28; <i>Progress Report, 1914-15</i> , p. 99 ff; <i>E.I.</i> , XV, p. 335.
Capital of the Silāhāras of the northern branch, visited by Shashtha-dēva II.	<i>E.I.</i> , XIII, p. 300; Appendix, III, No. 1.
Famous for its agrahāra. The important inscription giving	<i>E. C.</i> , VII, Sk, 176.

Names of Places	Identification
Sūḍi (See Suṇḍi)	* * *
Suṇḍi	Sūḍi in the Ron Taluqua, Dharwar District.
Sulḷam	Sulḷa, Dharwar District.
Surāshṭra	Saurāshtra, Kathiawar.
Taḍakōḍu	Tadkod, in the Dharwar Taluqua, Dharwar District.
Tadavaṇale	(?) Tadagaṇi, in the Shikarpur Taluqua, Shimoga District.
Taji	A place in Arabia.
Talvananagara	Talakāḍ, on the Kāvēri.
Talaguppe	Talaguppe, Sorab Taluqua, Shimoga District.
Thānem	Thana, the administrative head-quarters of the Thana District. (See Sthānaka.)
Tilivalḷy	Tilcewulee or Teelowly, Bānkāpur Taluqua, Dharwar District.
Triparvata	Halēbid, Belūr Taluqua, Hassan District.
Tuṛugāre	?
Uchchangi	Uchchangi, near Moḷakalmū-

Remarks	Reference
the account of the origin of the dynasty was found here.	
* * *	
It appears as the rajadhāni of the Kisukāḍ Seventy.	<i>E.I.</i> , XV, p. 73.
It was one of the villages in the kampaṇa of Beḷvola.	<i>E.I.</i> , IX, p. 201.
* * *	<i>E.I.</i> , XIII, p. 300.
* * *	<i>E.I.</i> , XIII, p. 320.
* * *	<i>E.C.</i> , VII, Sk, 100.
* * *	Appendix, III, No. 2; Archivo I. c. Cf. ante, p. 172.
* * *	<i>E.I.</i> , VIII, 147.
* * *	<i>E.C.</i> , VIII, 319.
* * *	<i>E.I.</i> , XIII, 300.
* * *	<i>E.I.</i> , XIII, p. 14.
For the identification cf. ante, pp. 37-38.	<i>I.A.</i> , VII, p. 34.
Akkā-dēvi was ruling the Kisukāḍ, Māsavādi and Turugere Districts.	<i>E.I.</i> , XV, p. 79.
This was the capital of the	<i>E.C.</i> , XII, Dg, 32.

Names of Places	Identification
Udhāre	ru, Molakalmūru Taluqua, Chitaldroog District.
Ugura	?
Uṇkal	Not to be found in the modern maps.
Ustugrāme	Unkal, on the high road from Dharwar to Hubli, Hubli Taluqua, Dharwar District.
Vaijayanti	Now associated with Kadaroli, Sampgaon Taluqua, Belgaum District.
Vallāvi-vishaya	Banavasi, Sirsi Taluqua, North Kanara District.
	Ballavi (?) name of a town in Tumkur District, Mysore State.

Remarks	Reference
<p>Kadambas of Uchchangi. Mr. Rice says that it was not the well-known city south of Bellary. (Rice, <i>Mysore and Coorg</i>, p. 26).</p>	<p><i>I.A.</i>, VI, p. 31.</p>
<p>On the bank of the Tuṅgabhadra. (<i>E.C.</i>, VIII, Introd., p. 9.) It was probably an outpost of Hāṅgal. According to one of the viragals it was in Edenāḍ, a province to the north-east of Banavasi. We might say that it was either in the Kod Taluqua, Dharwar District, or Devanagere Taluqua, Chitaldroog District.</p>	<p><i>E.C.</i>, VIII, Sb, 58, 176, 439, 468</p>
<p>* * *</p>	<p>Appendix, III, No. 5.</p>
<p>* * *</p>	<p><i>E.I.</i>, XIII, p. 317.</p>
<p>Which is associated with Utsugrāme. Kadaroli was probably a contiguous village into which Utsugrāme was afterwards absorbed. (<i>E.I.</i>, XIII p. 319.)</p>	<p><i>E.I.</i>, XIII, p. 323.</p>
<p>Capital of the Kadambas of the first dynasty and hereditary province of the second. Earliest mention of Vaijayanti in the Kadamba records is in the Malavalli pillar inscription.</p>	<p><i>E.I.</i>, XIV, p. 167; <i>E.C.</i>, VII, Sk, 29; <i>E. I.</i>, VIII, p. 147; <i>E.C.</i>, VI, Kd, 162; <i>E. C.</i>, VIII, Sb, 33; <i>E.C.</i>, VII, Sk, 264.</p>
<p>* * *</p>	<p><i>E.I.</i>, VI, p. 17.</p>

Names of Places	Identification
Veļļiapura	Velim, Salsette, Goa.
Vasantavātaka	?
Veimullie	Probably a port of Arabia, not identified.
Vellapatam	Probably a port on the Tamil coast.
Veļvola (See Beļvola)	Beļvola, Ron Taluqua, Dharwar District. But the place cannot be traced.
Vēļugrāme	Belgaum, headquarters of the Belgaum District.
Vēņugrāma	Ditto.
Verok	Varka, Salsette, Goa.
Vijayapura	Probably a town near Mangud, Dharwar Taluqua. It cannot be traced in the maps.
Vikkige	(?) Bikkicatti, 6 miles south of Nilguṇḍa, Harpanahaļļi Taluqua, Bellary District.
Zangavar	Zanzibar (probably in the sense of the whole of the East coast of Africa).

Remarks	Reference
Administrative head-quarters of the southern division of the Goa Kadamba kingdom.	Appendix, III, No. 3.
Suddhikundara District. One of the District of the Kadamba kingdom of the first dynasty.	<i>I.A.</i> , VI, p. 31.
* * *	Archivo, l.c.
* * *	Archivo, l. c.
Three Hundred District with Naregal as capital. Hence in Ron Taluqua.	<i>E.I.</i> , XIV, p. 365.
* * *	<i>E.I.</i> , XIII, p. 319.
* * *	<i>E.I.</i> , XII, p. 18.
* * *	Appendix, III, No. 1.
* * *	Appendix, III, No. 5.
Vikkige Seventy formed a part of Kokkali Five Hundred. The chief town cannot be traced.	<i>E.I.</i> , XII, pp. 143, 147.
Trade relations with Goa.	* Archivo, l. c.



## APPENDIX





44. Seal of the Chikkulin Copper-plates of Vikramēndravarmma II.  
(Original size.)

By kind permission of the Curator, Madras Government Museum.



45. Seal of the Bennahalli Copper-plates of Krishnavarmma II.  
(Original size.)

Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.



46. Seal of the Marcella Copper-plates of Shashtha-dēva II.  
(Original size.)

Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.



47. Seal of the Panjim Copper-plates of Jayakēsi I.  
(Original size.)

Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

## The Kadamba Lion

The dynastic symbol of the Kadambas was the lion. It is possible that they borrowed this from the Pallavas, who also had this sign for their national emblem<sup>1</sup>. The reason for this assumption is that the Pallavas, as has already been noted<sup>2</sup>, were at least for some time the overlords of the Kadambas. It may incidentally be observed that the dynasty of the Vishnukundins also had the lion for their symbol<sup>3</sup>, and it is not improbable that the Pallavas borrowed it from them.

The lion found on the seals of the Kadambas is exactly similar to those on the seals of the Vishnukundins and the Pallavas. The Chikkulin plates of Vikramēndravarmma II of the Vishnukundin dynasty are very interesting from this point of view. The seal represents an advancing lion with its right fore-paw raised, its neck erect, mouth wide open and the tail twirled round<sup>4</sup>. (Pl. 44) This seal is analogous to that of the Rāmatīrtha plates but with the difference that the tail of the lion is swung over the back so as to end in a loop<sup>5</sup>. The lion on the Pallava coins, the fascimile of one of which is given by Dr. Smith, is also similar to the lion of the latter plates<sup>6</sup>. Now the figure on the seal of the earliest copper plate, in fact the earliest inscription, of the Kadambas, namely that of Kākustha is according to Dr. Fleet "apparently a dog"<sup>7</sup>. But the word 'apparently' seems to imply a doubt. Indeed we cannot explain the appearance of the dog on a Kadamba seal. However the pose and posture of this animal are so similar

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cousens, *Chalukyan Architecture*, p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ante, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *E. I.*, IV, p. 194.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. facing p. 244.

<sup>5</sup> *South India Epigraphy*, 1909, No. 538.

<sup>6</sup> Smith, *Early History of India*, pl. facing p. XII.

<sup>7</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A., VI, p. 23.

to those of the posterior Kadamba kings, that there seems to be no doubt that this figure was intended to represent a lion.

The seals of the kings of the early dynasty do not always bear the lion. Some monarchs have their names inscribed on their seals<sup>1</sup>; but the seal of Mrigēśavarmma bears his own effigy<sup>2</sup>. The records of the later Kadambas on the other hand always refer to their dynastic emblem. It is interesting to note that the lions on the seals of the copper plates of Shastha-dēva II and Jayakēśi I of the Kadambas of Goa<sup>3</sup>, (Pls. 46 and 47) and the one on the lithic record of Kirttivarman I, the Kadamba king of Hāṅgal<sup>4</sup>, exactly resemble the Vishṇukunḍin, the Pallava, and the early Kadamba lions. (Pl. 45)

The lion was later on employed as a decorative motif in the buildings of both the Kadambas and the Hoysaḷas. Round the *mukhamandapa* of the Degamve temple for instance there are many rearing lions; similar lions are to be seen on the *gopuram* of the Siddhēśvara temple at Hāveri built in Hoysaḷa style. The Hoysaḷa temple at Belūr and the one at Halebid are other striking instances of the same. The former has two lions facing each other over the main entrance in the same pose as the two lions of the old entrance to the compound of the temple of Madhukēśvara at Banavasi. Similar lions are seen in endless procession round the zocle of the Hoysaḷēśvara and Kētarēśvara temples at Halebid and round the temple at Belūr. (Pl. 48) Among the lions of these carvings, one occasionally traces the image of Saḷa with the dagger, represented as killing one of them. In connection with this it is interesting to notice that the animal killed by Saḷa in the different sculptures of the Hoysaḷa crest is not properly a tiger as related in the inscriptions, but a lion, as the mane evidently declares. Now the story of Saḷa killing this beast and the representation of the same in the Hoysaḷa temples cannot be traced before Viṣṇuvardhana's reign. Hence the representation of Saḷa killing the tiger, which is properly a lion, may be a symbol of the victory of the Hoysaḷas over the Kadamba race.

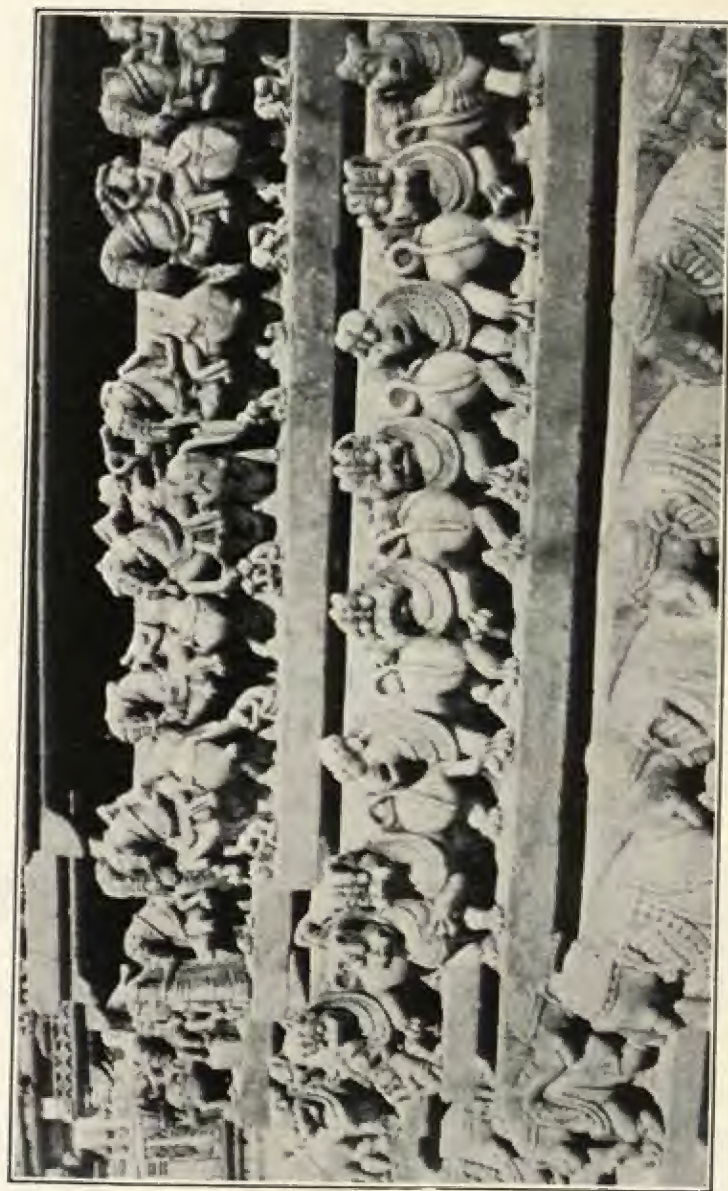
The Kadamba lion probably also accounts for the existence of the *kirttimukha* in these structures. According to Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil the *kirttimukha* made its appearance in the Gaṅga-Pallava architecture of the 9th century on account of the natural evolution

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pl. facing p. 25; VII, pl. facing p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pl. facing p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix, III, Nos. 1 and 2.

<sup>4</sup> See the *siltasana* at Banavasi published in *E. I.*, XVI, p. 353.



48. Belūr. Lions round the zotic of the Chenna Kesava Temple.



**49. Gold Coin of Baghiratha.**

(Magnified three diameters.)

Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

of the design in the *kudu* of the caves of the Aśokan period<sup>1</sup>. But he does not explain how this design appeared in these buildings. Nor does the great Dutch archaeologist Mr. J. Ph. Vogel explain the origin of the *kala-makara*, as the *kīrttimukha* is called in Java, though he seems inclined to regard it "as an effigy of the terrible god Kala"<sup>2</sup>.

The simplest and the most direct explanation seems to be that the Kadamba builders adopted this as a motif from the Kadamba lion. This motif perhaps was parallelly developed in the edifices of the Ganga-Pallava style, for it will be remembered that this was not a new design for the south Indian *sūtradhāris* of the Eastern Coast, since the Pallavas and the Viṣṇukunḍins before them had already used this animal for their dynastic symbol.

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<sup>1</sup> Jouveau-Dubreull, *Archeologie du Sud de l'Inde*, I, p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> Vogel, *The Relation between the Art of India and Java*, p. 60.

## Kadamba Coinage

Several inscriptions refer to the coins current in the Kadamba dominions. Unfortunately no information is obtainable from these records as regards the coins issued by the early Kadambas of Banavasi, and what is most striking is that no attempt has hitherto been made to identify any ancient coin found in Kaṇṇaṭaka as a coin issued by Mayūraśarma or his successors. This would lead one to the wrong conclusion that the early Kadambas had no currency system. In fact the coins of the Pallavas and the Chalukyas, who were the contemporaries of the early Kadamba kings, are known to numismatists, and therefore there is no reason for denying this royal privilege to the early Kadambas. As a matter of fact among the coins, we have been able to identify, there are a few which can be attributed to some of these kings. These coins will be found in the list at the end of this appendix.

As regards the later dynasties the coins mentioned by the inscriptions are the following:—

The earliest Kadamba coin referred to in the epigraphical records is that of Nīti-mahārāja, one of the Kings of the Belur Kadamba branch, who lived somewhere about the first quarter of the 11th century. We learn from the record that at the time of the demise of Bīchagaṇḍa, Nīti-mahārāja granted one *paṇa* to each of the Brahmins<sup>1</sup>. This coin was in use even a century later, as can be made out from a Chalukya grant of 1112 A. D.<sup>2</sup>

*Hera-drammas* seem to be another species which were common in the time of the early Kadambas. The record that brings this to our notice is assigned to A.D. 991. We are informed that

<sup>1</sup> E. C., V, Mj, 53.

<sup>2</sup> E. I., XIII, p. 58. The coin was used down to Vijayanagara times.

when Kaṭya performed the self sacrifice, the king granted 24 *hera-drammas*, while washing the feet of the Brahmans there <sup>1</sup>.

*Gadyanas* were the type of coinage that gained currency in the 11th century. They are frequently mentioned in the Goa charter of Jayakēśi I<sup>2</sup>, and the above-mentioned Chalukya record<sup>3</sup>. The latter record further informs us that they were gold coins. An inscription of the Belur Kadambas shows that they were also common in their dominions <sup>4</sup>.

The charter of Jayakēśi also mentions a coin of smaller value named in the Portuguese translation *drachma*. "Whatever merchants", so runs the record, "should come (here) from any parts or cities will pay every time two coins called *gadiannacas*; the ships coming from the Malay countries will pay each of them every time one *gadiannaca* coin. The paranguese or pallas coming from the same country will pay each five drachmas, which are also coins"<sup>5</sup>. These drachmas are doubtless the *drammas* spoken of above.

The Kuppattūr grant of Kīrttivarmma refers to a coin called *honna*, which was the current coin in the Hāṅgal Kadamba kingdom in the 11th century. We are told in the record that Māḷa-lā-dēvi, his Queen, bought the lands specified in the grant from the Brahmans for a sum of 500 *honnas* <sup>6</sup>.

In the twelfth century we hear of a coin called *nishka* in the inscription of the Goa Kadamba King Viṣṇuchitta. We learn from the record that the ornaments of the god Narasiṁha valued at 500 *nishkas* were stolen by Padmanābha <sup>7</sup>. *Hāga*, which is also mentioned in the Goa records, was another coin that was used in this period <sup>8</sup>.

Finally a coin named *koḍēvaṇa* is referred to by the Kargudari inscription of Tallapa of Hāṅgal. It was apparently stamped with the device of an umbrella <sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> E.C., VIII, Sb, 482.

<sup>2</sup> Archivo, I. c.

<sup>3</sup> E.I., XIII, p. 58.

<sup>4</sup> E.C., V, Mj, 18.

<sup>5</sup> Archivo, I. c.

<sup>6</sup> E.C., VIII, Sb, 262.

<sup>7</sup> Fleet, *Inscriptions Relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa*, J.B.B.R.A.S., IX, p. 286.

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.*, p. 309.

<sup>9</sup> Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I.A., X, p. 254.

The following list will give the Kadamba coins we have been able to trace not only in the catalogues of several collections but also by personal observation.

### *Early Kadambas*

Elliot gives two gold coins which may be assigned to the early dynasty of Banavasi<sup>1</sup>. The first with the word *bhujam* on the obverse strikingly resembles the Pallava and Chōḷa coins of the period. Besides the word *Śrī* and the rough figure of a lion in the centre there is the representation of an *aṅkuś*, which is to be found in the Kadamba coins of a much later period. The reverse however is plain.

The second coin shows on the obverse a *padma* in the centre with four punch-struck retrospectant lions round it. The reverse has a scroll ornament within a circle of dots. Both these coins were found at Sunda.

The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society possesses four gold coins of almost the same type. They all bear four or more lions punch-marked on the obverse. The reverse has sometimes a scroll ornamentation and sometimes a star or a *padma*. Three of these coins were found in the Bijāpur District.

Lately a treasure trove of Kadamba coins was found in the Sātārā collectorate. We have been able to examine these coins by kind permission of Mr. G. V. Acharya, Curator, Archaeological Section, Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay. The coins were read by Prof. K. G. Kundangar. Five of them bear the Kannada inscription ಧರ (Vira). This may easily be a mistake for ಧರ (Ravi), committed by the die maker. Such faulty inscriptions are also found among the Vijayanagara coins. Four of these coins of the Sātārā treasure trove bear the inscription *Skandha*. No Kadamba king of this name is hitherto known. At the present stage of our research, we may do no more than suggest that the inscription is a mistake for *Kaṇḍa*.

In the coin Cabinet of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, there is a similar gold coin with several lions bearing three *Śrī*'s and the name *Baghi* in Haḷe-Kannada. This is an abbreviation for Bhagīratha, one of the early Kadambas of Banavasi. The reverse of the coin is plain. (Pl. 49)

<sup>1</sup> Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, pl. II, Nos. 66, 67.



**50. Gold Coin of Jayakēśi II.**

(Magnified three diameters.)

(From a plaster cast.)

By kind permission of the Managing Committee, Bombay Branch  
of the Royal Asiatic Society.



51. Gold Coin of Jayakēśi II.

(Magnified three diameters.)

Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

One of the coins of Elliot, not classified by the author, seems to be that of Bhagīratha's successor, Raghu. The coin bears a punch-marked lion. On one side the Devanagari inscription reads *Kadamba*. On the opposite side, another short inscription has been read as *Ra*, the first syllable of Raghu's name. On one side of this short inscription, there is a discus and on the opposite side there is a conch<sup>1</sup>.

### Goa Kadambas

The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society possesses several coins of this dynasty. One of them has a rampant lion, looking to the front, and before his mouth, the word *Pramōdha*, namely the cyclic year of coinage, in old Nāgari. The inscription on the reverse reads as follows:— "Śrī-Saptakōṭīśa-labdha-vara-vīra-Jayakēśidēva-Malavaramāri" (The brave Jayakēśidēva, the destroyer of the Malavas, who obtained boon from the holy Saptakōṭīśa). This king evidently is Jayakēśi II, who defeated the Malavas<sup>2</sup>. (Pl. 50)

The coin cabinet of the Indian Historical Research Institute possesses another coin of this King bearing the same inscription but struck in the year *Vijaya*. (Pl. 51)

The Indian Museum, Calcutta, has a similar coin, the inscription of which is not clear in the last two lines. Yet the syllable *ke* is quite doubtless. Hence the coin is attributed to Jayakēśi III. No reason is given why this King is preferred to the second of the same name. The inscription in front of the mouth of the lion reads, according to Dr. Smith, *Jana*; Dr. Fleet read *jāna*<sup>3</sup>; but the true reading seems to be *lāna*. Could this be the cyclic year *Anala*, which is often given as *nala*?

By the kindness of Senhor Ferrão of Mapuça, Goa, we were able to examine another coin similar to the previous one, bearing on the reverse this inscription, "Śivachitta vīra-devēśvara Malavaramāri". On the obverse there is a lion to the left with a ball in his mouth, within a circle of dots. In front of this there is the word *Kilaka*, viz. the cyclic year.

Another similar coin of this King is found in the coin cabinet of the Research Institute. The obverse has the word *Playa*, which

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pl. II, No. 60.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Elliot. o. c., pl. II, No. 71.

<sup>3</sup> Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, I, p. 314, pl. XXX, No. 5.

corresponds to the 35th year of the cycle, surmounted by a *swastika*. The reverse has the name of Śivachitta repeated thrice both in Nāgari and in Haḷe-Kannāḍa. The lines of the two scripts are alternately in Nāgari and in Kannāḍa characters. This is a unique feature in all the Kadamba coins known hitherto, which may throw some light on the origin of the Kadamba family. For it shows that the vernacular of the Goa family of the Kadambas, was the Kannāḍa language. The coin was bought at Goa Velha, the site of the ancient capital of Śivachitta himself. (Pl. 52)

The Indian Museum, Calcutta, possesses a silver coin totally different from the specimens described above, which is attributed to Viṣṇuchitta. Yet the name of this King is not clear in the inscription on the reverse, which apparently reads as follows:—"Śaśaka gu...chitta dēvah." It might also belong to Śivachitta. On the obverse there is a rampant lion with the sun and the moon above and some undecipherable characters below<sup>1</sup>.

Two specimens of Elliot's coins bear the name "Sōyi-dēva or Sōva-dēva", apparently a new king who has been identified by us with Tribhuvanamalla<sup>2</sup>. Both have a lion to the left having a ball in his mouth. One of them has the name of the cyclic year *Bahudhānya* which corresponds to 1218-19 A.D. The inscription of this coin reads:—"Śrī-Saptakōṭīśvara-charaṇa-labdha-vara-vīra-Sōyidēva", viz. the brave Sōyi-dēva who has obtained boons from the feet of the holy Saptakōṭīśvara. The other coin could not be read by Elliot. The inscription nevertheless seems to be as follows:—"Charaṇa-dēvashashtha-Sōvadēva". This would imply that Sōva-dēva and Shastha ruled conjointly for some time<sup>3</sup>.

The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society has seventy-five small coins with a lion on the obverse that seemed to belong to the same Goa Kadamba dynasty. The reverse is plain. They belong to a treasure trove found in Travancore and they are similar, though smaller, to the gold fanams published by Elliot<sup>4</sup>. They are perhaps the coins named *tare* in the Goa charter of Jayakēśi I.

There are besides two small coins of the size of the Vijayana-gara *varahas*, with the inscription Śrīmaḷavaramāri on the reverse. This seems to have become a hereditary title of the Kadambas of

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., No. 5. (In this plate this coin is marked as being of gold, whereas in the catalogue it is classified as a silver coin).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ante, p. 206.

<sup>3</sup> Elliot, o. c. pl. II, Nos. 68, 69. Cf. ante, p. 206.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Nos. 72, 73.



52. Gold Coin of Sivachitta.

(Magnified three diameters.)

Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.



53. Gold Varāha of one of the Later Kadambas of Gos.  
(Magnified three diameters.)

Goa, after they subjugated the country of the Ghauts. Consequently these two coins are to be assigned to the later Kadamba kings of Goa. In one of them, now in the possession of Senhor Ferrão, the lion shown on the obverse is tied up to an *aṅkuś*. The lion of the other has an umbrella in front. This second coin belongs to the Viscount of Pernem, Goa. (Pl. 53)

Two new coins of the Kadamba Kings of Goa were lately added to the cabinet of the Indian Historical Research Institute. They are two very small gold coins, probably half-*paṇas*, bearing the usual lion to the left on the obverse, and Siva's *triśula* on the reverse. In front of the lion there is also another small *triśula*. These two specimens were found at Chandor, the old Chandrapura, in January, 1930. (Pl. 54)

### *Hāṅgal Kadambas*

Two coins belonging to the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society are to be attributed to this dynasty, as they are totally different from the Goa coins. The obverse has a recumbent lion to the left, looking backwards with a Kannaḍa legend below, which has been read as *Sarvadhāri*<sup>1</sup>. This is the 22nd year of the cycle corresponding to 1168-69, 1228-29, 1288-89, etc. The reverse has a scroll design with *swastika*. These coins are very thin.

Of the same size and thickness is a coin published by Elliot. The reverse is the same as the preceding coin, but the obverse has a figure of a crowned Hanuman squatting to the right, with the Kannaḍa word *Nakara* below. The word probably refers to the god Nakaṛeśvara at Baṅkāpur<sup>2</sup>.

The coin cabinet of the Indian Historical Research Institute has a similar coin, obtained at Belgaum, the only difference being that the figure of Hanuman is bigger and the characters of the word *Nakara* are smaller. The representation of Hanuman on the Hāṅgal Kadamba coins is easily explained by the fact that their flag symbol was the monkey god, as their inscriptions testify. (Pl. 55)

### *Belur Kadambas*

Elliot published three pieces of copper strikingly similar but totally different from the coins mentioned above. As one

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., No. 70.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., No. 78.

of them was found at Mysore, we have attributed them to the Kadambas of Belur. One has the lion looking backwards, but on the other two there is a lion passant and regardant. On the reverse there is a *padma* or a geometrical pattern<sup>1</sup>.

*Importance of Kadamba Numismatics*

The examination of these coins is of the utmost importance for South Indian Numismatics. The Kadamba coinage marks a definite step from the ancient punch-marked pieces of gold current all over South India, to the modern coins differently struck on the obverse and the reverse. This departure in Indian coinage began in the time of the early Kadambas of Banavasi, for some of their coins have different designs on the reverse. But this change became more pronounced under the Kadambas of Goa. To these Kadambas also is to be ascribed the pattern of South Indian *varāhas*, which became so common in Southern India under the Vijayanagara Empire and even adopted in part by the East India Company of Madras. Indeed they were the first in reducing the coin from the big thin size of the early Kadamba times to the small thick type of the successors of Jayakēśi II. Moreover they adopted the custom of writing the inscription in parallel lines on the reverse, a custom followed by the Vijayanagara Emperors, by the Mysore Rājas and by the Nāyaks of Ikeri in the popularly known *Ikeri Pagodas*.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Nos. 75-77.



**54. Gold Coins found at Chandor.**

(Magnified three diameters.)

Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.



55. Gold Coin of the Hāngal Kadambas.

(Magnified three diameters.)

Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

III  
Unpublished Inscriptions  
No. 1

**Marcella Copper-plates of Shashtha-deva II**

Found at Tivra, Pondá, Goa, by Shastri Bhavanishankar Sukhtankar, and translated by him; now in the Museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

*Text*

- १ जागृतमंत्रिवर्गः । सकंठकाचार्य इति प्रसिद्धो यथाप्रयोगं फलितत्रिवर्गः ॥  
प्रदत्त-
- २ भूपा इव कीर्तयोस्य सतांबुध्वनामपि पारमीयुः । प्रतिष्ठितानेकविपन्नभूपः स  
पदाचा-
- ३ र्ययथार्थनामा ॥ तस्मादभूत्पुत्रवरो नायव्यदेव्याममरेन्द्रकल्पः । प्रताप-  
माहात्म्यवि-
- ४ वेकभूमिः श्रीनागवर्मा भुवि पुण्यकर्मा ॥ अशेषशास्त्रागमनीतिदृष्ट्वा  
साहित्यविद्यानिल-
- ५ यो गुणाढ्यः । त्रिवर्गसंसाधनसंपदायः क्षोणीभुजां शेखरतामवाप । गुरुरि-
- ६ व बहुदृष्ट्वा विश्वकर्मेव शिल्पी मुनिरिव शुचिरन्तः पुण्यवन्नेव कान्तः । मु-
- ७ वनविदितकीर्तिः कीर्तनीयो नृपाणामभवदसमशर्मा क्षमापतिर्नागवर्मा ॥
- ८ अनन्यसाधारणलक्षणायां मालव्यदेव्यामतिरूपवत्याम् । गूहल्लदेवोजनि तेन  
पुत्रः पार्थ-
- ९ द्वितीयः प्रथितः पृथिव्याम् । येनाधानि कृतान्तघोरवदनो व्याघ्रः स्वयं  
मुष्टिभिर्येनाम्-
- १० ध्वजिगीषुणा विदधिरे दिक्पालशेषा दिशः । यस्याधापि सुरेंद्रसुंदर-  
वधूद्वंदर्यशो गीय-
- ११ ते सोभूदुद्रसमो गूहल्लनृपतिर्जीरव्यदेवीपतिः । यः शातक्रतवीयविक्रममपि  
प्रोहंघय
- १२ संरक्षन्कुतोभयां भुवमिमामेकातपत्रीकृताम् । आ सिंधोरवनीन्द्र

- १ पूजितः संलेभे बहुमानतां स नृपतिर्नीतिज्ञचूडामणिः ॥ जगन्नय  
गुणान्वितायां गौरव्यदेव्याख्यपतिव्रतायां
- २ धर्मावतारोजनि तेन सूनुः श्रीषष्ठराजो जगदेकबधु (:) ॥ आसीदशो-  
नरनाथकिरीटकोटिरत्नल-
- ३ टाप्रकरचुम्बितपादपीठः । षष्टाब्धयः सहजवर्द्धितवीरवृत्तिर्मर्त्ता भुवः स  
चतुरंबुधि ने (मे) खलायाः ॥ विद्या-
- ४ नां कुलमंदिरं गुणवतामेकैव विश्रामभूद्वैवः सत्यविवेचकः श्रुतिगिरां सम्य-  
कपरीक्षागुरुः । नाना-
- ५ तर्कनिशातनिर्मलमतिः प्रौढः कवीनां कविः स्मार्तां नीतिविदां वरोभवदसौ  
पौराणिकप्रामणी
- ६ : ॥ विप्रैर्ब्रह्मसमैः स्तुतः प्रतिदिनं यः स्नाति गंगाजलैर्वि (वि) श्वं  
चान्हिकदानकांचनसुतं येनादरिद्रीकृतं ॥
- ७ गत्वा तीर्थमनेकवैदिकविधौ हैमानि दत्वापि यो द्वि (वि) द्रम्यः शतशो दाना-
- ८ नि (वै) षोडश ॥ गोकर्णः कनकैर्मुहुर्भगवती चार्या च येनाचिता  
श्रीकोलापुरमेत्य येन च
- ९ महालक्ष्मीः सदाराधिता ॥ येनांभेनिधिपारगेण भगवान्नामेश्वरः पूजितो  
येन स्थानक-
- १० मेल्य कांचनमयी वृष्टिः कृता कोटिशः । स श्रीमान्दशदिग्बधूप्रिययशो-  
हंसावतंसोल्लसत्यागा (गो)
- ११ लहरीलीढत्रिलोकीतटः । हेलविक्रमविक्रवाहितबधूनेत्राम्बुधारा-  
सरिर्त्तीर्थस्नातकृपाणपालि-
- १२ मकरोद्गीमूर्तिनारायणः । बुच्च (उच्चै) स्तन्वन्फणालीः समधिकरससो  
(नो)त्तानरोमांचकोटिबुद्ध्यन्निम्नोक्पट्टः सहजतरल-
- १३ योजिह्वयोः पाटवेन । नागीभिर्गीयमानं गुणगणमसमं यस्य चक्षुःसहस्रै-  
राकर्ष्याकर्ण्य भूयो वहति फणिध-
- १४ रो मेदिनीं मन्दरेण । कूर्मं क्लेशयितुं दिशः स्तगयितुं पेष्टुं धरिर्त्राभृतः  
सिंधुं धूलिभरेण कर्दमयितुं तेनैव रोद्धुं नभः । यस्याभू-
- १५ द्विजयप्रयाणसमये निव्वीरमुर्वीतलं स विदितो वैरीभकण्ठीरवः ।

- १ तस्यामवत्सर्वगुणैरुपेता । तस्यामथाजन्यत तेन सूनुरादित्यनामा क्रमिकाग्नि-  
होत्री ॥ अरेवाख्या
- २ च तत्पत्नी दीक्षिता प्रियवादिनी । सर्वशुद्धस्वरूपत्वाद्वारतीव रराज या ॥  
तेन तस्यामजन्येतां तनयी
- ३ पुण्यकर्मणा । ज्यायान्गोवर्द्धनो धीमान्पश्चान्नारायणाव्हयः ॥ जन्मप्रतिष्ठा-  
ध्ययनप्रसिद्धो गो-
- ४ वर्द्धनो वर्द्धितपुण्यराशिः । राज्ञाग्निचित्सोधिकृतः पुरोधाः पुराणशास्त्रागम-  
पारदश्चा । तेनातिवर्च-
- ५ सा ने (नी?) त वयसाथ निजं पदं । भ्रात्रे प्रदापयांचक्रे तद्गुणावर्जितो  
नृपः । गोवर्द्धनपदं बिभ्रद्भ्रात्रे गो-
- ६ पालसंश्रयात् । अत एव कथं नाम नारायण इति स्मृतः । यः पट्टवर्द्धन  
इति प्रथितः पु-
- ७ रोधा नारायणः सकलशास्त्रविद्वेध (?) भट्टः । तस्मै ददौ प्रमुदितः स  
गुहल्लदेवः श्री सा
- ८ हवै सकलपाठकं शासनं तत् । छटमो देवणै नाम्ना मुख्यौ स्वीकरणे  
मतौ । पष्ठरा-
- ९ जस्तदध्यक्षो गोविंदप्रतिहस्तकः । प्रधानं श्रीयमैनाम्ना दामपै मावपै तथा ।  
महल्लः
- १० खल्लुपैनामा सर्व्वेमी नयशालिनः । सांघिविग्रहिको धीमान्महल्लपै नाम विश्रुतः ।  
गोवर्द्धनः ।
- ११ पुरोधास्तु तत्रासीन्मन्त्रिमण्डलं । गोकर्णमर्णवतटे प्रणिपत्य मूर्ध्ना
- १२ प्रधानैः सचिवैरनुगम्यमानो गूहल्लभूपतिरदादिह शासनं  
तत् । वेरकस्याखिले
- १३ कोणे साउवै पाटकाव्हयं । सर्व्वबाधाविनिर्मुक्तं नारायणपुरोधसे । शासनं  
तस्य चाघाटा

- 
- १ जनैरघापीन्द्रधनुर्भूमो दिवि यशोहंसाध्वगानां कृतः ॥ राजन्यानामनेकद्वि-  
रदधनघटाकुम्भी-
  - २ ठानि यस्मिन्क्षेत्रे प्रोबल्लपाणे दलयति विपुलं कोतुकं भूतमाजौ । चंचंचंचू-  
पुटेन त्वरितपरि-

- ३ चलत्पक्षपालीयुगेन । ध्वंसे मुक्तामर्णां जलदजलधिया धारितं चातकेन ।  
अनुद्यम्य कापि स्फु-  
४ दसिसहायं निजभुजं अकृत्वा भुभंगं सरलितमनाकृष्य च धनुः ।  
अ करतलगतं ये ।  
५ न विहितं स एवैकः शूरो जगति विजयी षष्ठनृपतिः । अक्काभिधा प्रियतमा  
गिरिजेव शंभोर्दे-  
६ वी बभूव नृपतेरभिषेकयुक्ता । श्रीसूर्यशक्तिरिव शक्तिधरः प्रतापी तस्यां  
च तेन ज-  
७ नितः स गुहल्लदेवः । नम्रमलयाधिपमौलिमालालीलाविलोललुठदं ॥  
८ प्रिसरोजरेणुः । रंगांगनानिकरचामरबीज्यमानः कादम्बवंशतिलकः स बभू-  
९ व भूपः । एकातपत्रीकृतभूमिचक्रः स चक्रवर्तीव ततान तेजः । राजेव  
राज्ञां व- ।  
१० हुमानपात्रं रराज यो मांडलिकत्रिनेत्रः । का स विधये  
महितो द्विजानां प्रा-  
११ मे बभूव परमेम्बरमंगलालये  
१२ ॥ यः प्राप्य चंद्रपुरमिद्रपुरातिरेकं श्रीधा (र ?) के निजनिवासमलंचकार ।  
आत्मीयवंशकु-  
१३ मुदाकरशीतरश्मिः स्मार्तैर्गुणैः सकलकौकणपातवाय । वर्म्मद्वितीया-  
भिधारी (?)

१

२

३

वैत्तगीपाणिलोटो वविप्राम

- ४ उत्तरेणैतयोर्नदी ॥ षष्ठ्या धिके नवशते वत्सरे विक्रमाख्ये  
५ र्णमास्यां दत्तं राज्ञा सुरगुरुदिने भट्टनारायणाय + आचंद्रार्क निविशतसुखं  
शासनं पुत्रपौत्रैः ॥ वा-  
६ पीकूपतडागकंदरदरीनियूहशृंगाटकैः क्षेत्रारामनदावनप्रविसरैर्वप्रादिभिः  
सोर्जिता । यः सं-  
७ क्षति शासनं स रमतां दातेव नाके चिरं यो मोहादपहर्तुमिच्छति नरः  
श्वन्ने स संवि-

- ८ छते । भूमौ (मि) यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ  
तुल्यकर्माणौ नियतं स्वर्ग-  
९ गामिनौ । बहुभिर्वसुधा मुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा  
भूमिस्तस्य  
१० तस्य तदा फलं । स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुंधरां । स विष्टायां  
कृमिर्भूत्वा प्रयाति पि-  
११ तृमिः सह । सामान्योऽयं धर्मस्तुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ।  
सर्वानितान्भा-  
१३ विनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ।

### Translation

*1st plate.*—He who had attained the three objects (viz. Religion, worldly objects and desire) was well-known as *Kanākāchārya*.

His fame like endowed kings went ever beyond the seven seas. He had installed many distressed kings. He was truly named on account of his affluence and prowess.

From him was born by (his queen) (named) *Nayavyadevī*, the best of sons, (named) *Śrī Nāgavarmā* of holy deeds, who was the best of kings, who was like the King of the gods and who was the receptacle of prowess, magnanimity and considerations. He had studied all scriptures, the Vedas and political science, he was the abode of (all) the literature and science and was endowed with all the qualities. He became the foremost of the kings on account of his accomplishment of the three objects (viz. Religion, worldly objects and desire).

In knowledge he was like the preceptor of Gods, in architecture he was like *Viśhwakarmā* (i.e. the architect of gods); his conscience was pure like *Vyāsa* and he was beautiful like cupid. *Nāgavarmā*, the lord of the earth, whose fame was known throughout the world, and who had no equal, deserved praise even from the kings. He begot by his queen *Mālavadevī* of uncomparable merits and who was exceedingly beautiful, the son named *Guhalladēva*, who could be compared to *Arjuna* and who was famous throughout the world.

He by his mere fists killed a tiger whose jaws were like those of the God of death. On account of his desire to conquer the world, the only survivors that remained in all the quarters were the guardian gods of the (eight) directions. His fame is even now sung by multitudes of beautiful wives of the gods. The king *Guhalladēva*, the husband of the queen *Jiravyadevī*, was like the god *Rudra*.

He, who had surpassed even the prowess of the god Indra, by his spreading fame, protected the earth by rendering it free from fear of anybody and by bringing it under one royal umbrella. He was an ally of the Kings (reigning in countries) extending to the sea . . . .

*2nd plate.*—His fame, in the form of the travelling swans in the sky, creates an impression in the mind of the people that there is a rainbow.

He with his drawn sword on the battlefield severs the hard and massive heads of the innumerable elephants of the kings to the consternation (of those) in the battle.

The chātak bird in its open beak at once caught the pearls . . . of the enemies thinking them to be rain-drops.

The brave king *Shashtha* is alone victorious in this world. He brought the kingdom under his control without so much as lifting his arm with a flourishing sword, without contracting his eyebrows and without drawing his straight bow.

The king's consort who was adored at the coronation was named *Aṅgadevi* who was as the goddess *Girijā* of *Shambhu*. In her he begot *Guhalladēva*, who was possessed of prowess like that of Sun god.

He was the ornament of the race of the *Kadambas*. The atoms of dust from his lotus-like feet were playing on the rows of the heads of the humiliated kings of the seven *Malayas*; the chowries were wafted over him by a multitude of beautiful women.

Like a sovereign he spread his splendour by bringing the whole earth under one royal canopy. He who was like the King of Kings and like the god *Śiva* among his vassals was the recipient of great honour.

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In the large village called *Ambaramangala* in that country, resided *Shadhurajachandra* who was honoured by the Brahmins, who was the ornament of the *Maraiyabhattas* and who adorned the family called *Shātyāyanotsava*.

He having reached *Chandrapura* which excelled even the metropolis of the gods, fixed his abode in *Śri Dhārak*.

He was like the moon to his lotus-like race and he protected the whole of *Konkan* by his qualities which were in accordance with the smritis.

*3rd plate.*—That King who was the foremost of the politicians received great honour.

He begot by his queen, who was endowed with all the qualities, and who was famous in the three worlds as being devoted to her husband, a son called *Śri Shashtharaj*, who was the one friend of the whole world.

He who was called *Shashtha* was the lord of the earth which has for its girdle the four seas. His foot-stool was kissed by the rays emanating from the crowns of all the kings and his quality of bravery was increased naturally. He was the temple of all the lores, he was the only resort of the qualified persons, he could discriminate truth, he was a good examiner of the Vedic words, he was well-versed in Logic, he was the great poet among the poets, he was the foremost among the politicians, and he was the leader of those well-versed in the Puranas.

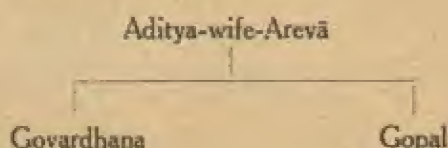
He takes a bath in the waters of the Ganges every day, being praised by Brahmins who are like the god Brahman ; He freed the whole world from poverty by giving people gold as gift at the time of the morning rites.

He went to holy places and gave gold as gift in various Vedic rites ; he gave great gifts to hundreds of learned persons.

He worshipped the god *Gokarna* with gold, and he worshipped the venerable *Bhagavati* many times. He always worshipped *Mahālakṣmi* by going to *Kolhapur*. He worshipped the god *Somēśvar* by going beyond the seas, and he showered crores of gold (coin) by going to *Sthānak*.

#### *Nārāyaṇa*

#### 4. Aditya-wife-Arevā.



Narayan Pattawardhan was given the copper-plate by the king *Guhalla-dēva*.

*Chhadham, Devana.*

*Shashtharaja, Govinda.*

*Shriyapai, Damapai, Mavpai.*

*Mahalla, Khallapai.*

*Sallapai.*

*Verak* (name of the place).

*Sahavai* (name of the place).

*Betagi* (name of the place).

Chaitra Shudha 15th, Shake year 960.

Thursday.

**Panjim Copper-plates of Jakēśi I**

Found at Panjim, Nova Goa, by Rev. Fr. H. Heras, S.J., and translated by Shastri Bhavanishankar Sukhtankar ; now in the Museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

*Text*

- १ ॐ नमो महावराहाय । धरोन्नमनसंत्रासप्रविष्टभुजगेश्वरं । पायाद्वो नासि-  
कारंभ्रं क्रीडाक्रोड-
- २ स्य चक्रिणः । शंभोः पुरोन्मथनसंयुगजश्रमांबुविदूत्करप्रपतनेन कदंबमूले ।  
जातःपुमा-
- ३ नसमवैर्यविविक्तवीर्यः स्यात्तस्त्रिलोचनकदम्ब इति प्रवीरः ॥ तस्मादयं  
रविसितांशुकुलप्रसू-
- ४ तभूमीश्वरोर्जितविलोपनविक्रमाणां वंशो विशुद्धगुणबोधधराधिपानामातः  
परामुदयि-
- ५ नीयकदंबसंज्ञां । तस्मिन्धरोद्धरणपुण्यवराहमूर्तिः कीर्तिशुसेवपरिवृद्धि-  
विशुद्धगोत्रः । आ-
- ६ सीदशेषरिपुराजसरोजचंद्रो गृह्णन् इत्यतिवया विदितो नरेंद्रः । बल्लगद्गूढ-  
निरुद्धकीकसर-
- ७ सस्वादप्रमोदोद्यतक्रूरध्वानशिवाविदीर्णवदनत्रस्यत्पलामाश्रयः । यस्माद्यापि  
निवे-
- ८ दयन्ति विजयं प्रान्तप्रतीपोद्धतक्षोणीपालकपालकूटघटनाभीमाः समिद्ध  
मयः ।
- ९ व्याघ्रांतकारिचरितादनिमित्ततोपि यस्मादवातनिजवाहननाशशंका । आकृ-  
ष्टखड्गलतिकासृ-
- १० तभूतसेना मन्ये विमुंचति हिमाद्रितटीं न दुर्गा । अद्यापि यस्य यशसा ध-  
वलीकृतेस्मिह्लोकत्रये
- ११ विजितपार्वणचंद्रधाम्ना । मन्येन्यपूरुषधिया गिरिजा गिरीशं नालिंग-  
ति व्यपगतोल्बणका-
- १२ लिमानं । तस्माद्रभूव चतुरंबुधिरुद्धभूमेर्भर्ता सितांचितयशःप्रसर-  
स्तनूजः । आद्यापि दा-

- १३ तृनिकरस्य कुदैवविद्धिः प्रख्यापितो य इह पष्ठ इति प्रतीत्या । येन  
नूतनतां नीतो वाक्या-  
१४ नुगुणकारिणा । पुराणतामपि प्राप्तः पुराणार्थकथाविधिः ॥ मुनिव्रतं  
चीर्णमनेन तीव्रं निः-

- १ शल्यमासूत्रयता धराद्य ॥ एतत्तदेकत्रयदद्भुतार्थमालानितं मत्तकरीन्द्रयुग्मं ॥  
आपूर्वा-  
२ तोयराशेस्तुहिनगिरितटादा च पाश्चात्यसिंधोरर्वागर्वाक्च सेतोर्धुमाणिकुल-  
मही-  
३ पालदोर्वीर्यकेतोः ॥ आगच्छद्विर्धनार्थं प्रतिपथमपरैः पूर्णकामैर्व्रजद्विः  
पाथैः पं-  
४ धान एते सततमपि कृता येन नान्यावकाशाः ॥ संगरैः सद्गुणैः ख्यातो  
गंगाशुभांशु-  
५ भिर्भूतः ॥ तद्ग्राभीर्यजितोभोधिर्मन्ये म्लानत्वमागतः । अस्मात्प्रसन्नमनसः  
मुकृतैः प्रजानां  
६ जातः सुतः क्षितिधरोद्भरणैकधुर्यः । संग्रामतामरिपुराजपुरंघ्रिद्वंदसिदूरता  
७ रिनिकषो जयकेशिदेवः । पोषोद्दामरसारभारहरणं लटोद्भटाटोपहं  
८ चौलोच्चालनमस्तपल्लवरवख्यातिं बलात्सैनिकैः । अस्योद्दंडभुजोर्जिताजिवि-  
९ जयसा (स्याः) शंकमुत्कंपिताः किष्किधादिनिकुंजपुंजितजनाः शृण्वन्ति  
विद्वेषिणः ॥ पारा-  
१० दवारतरणस्वनमुद्बहद्विरासागरं तुहिनशैलतटात्तरद्विः । पेपीयते प्रति-  
दिनं जयिनोस्य सैन्यैः  
११ संमर्दकर्मितमंबुसुरापगायाः ॥ नौचक्राक्रांतसिंधोर्मुखरितनभसः क्षे-  
१२ पकध्वानतानैः योधिज्य निशितशरशतद्रावितद्वेषिणोस्मात् ।  
आस्तामुक्तैः  
१३ किमन्यैः प्रतिजलधिमहाद्वीपनाथप्रमाथैः शंके लंकानिवासी स्वपिति  
नहि सुखं या-  
१४ तुधानप्रधानः ॥ पंचम्योपि भयं त्यक्तमेकस्मिन्बहति क्षिर्तिं । अस्मिन्न-  
यविदामाद्ये प्रजा-

- १ भिरमिसागरं । भूतटं प्रपया रुद्धमेवत्य वदनं गिरा । तदीर्षयेत दोर्द्ध-  
मस्य श्लिष्ट-
- २ जयश्रिया । संत्यक्षराणि गायंति दुर्गवृत्तिरता यतः । अतः कातंत्रिणो  
जाताः सत्य-
- ३ मेवास्य विद्विषः । दीनानुकंपनं स्वीयं सर्वस्वं यस्य भूपतेः । तदत्या-  
गादयं सन्तः कृपणो-
- ४ स्त्वथ दानवान् । श्रीवैमूल्यपुरोत्पत्तिः शान्तस्ताजियवंशजः । आसी-  
न्नौचित्तकोधी-
- ५ मानालियमाख्यया । अजायत ततः पुत्रो नाम्ना मधुमदो मुदे । यो  
भवल्लोकने-
- ६ त्राणां सकलश्चंद्रसंनिभः । ततोप्येष समुत्पन्नः सूनुः सदनसंज्ञकः ।  
केशिराजार्धरक्षाणां
- ७ योभूत्प्रतिबलो बली । दुर्गतातिहरं दानं द्विषदंतकरं बलं । सन्मनो  
ग्राहकं शी-
- ८ लभभूत्तस्य मनस्विनः । गोपकद्वीपकाख्येस्मिन्विषये योस्ति विश्रुतः ।  
लघुमो-
- ९ रम्बिकासंज्ञो ग्रामः सीमामनोहरः । आसाद्विरमसौ शून्यो ध्वस्तगावडकान्वयः ।  
ग्रामः स-
- १० केशिराजेन भूपाला दानभोगिना । प्रधानानुमतेनेन कृत्वा मौलमनाकुलं ।  
पौरुषप्रा-
- ११ तप्तामर्ध्यं छडमं मितभाषिणं । एतस्य केशिराजेन छडमस्यं व्यवस्थया ।  
ग्रामो मोरम्बि-
- १२ काख्योसौ प्रदत्तो दलितद्विषा । चंद्रवसुग्रहनिमित्ते शाके वषे विकारिणि ।  
प्राप्ते । आषाढ-
- १३ कृष्णपक्षे वारे शशलक्ष्मणस्तथाष्टम्यां । विकारिवत्सरादीनि वर्षाणि  
सततं दश । निष्कारिंश्चिद्वि-स-
- १४ द्वाभ्याः प्रत्यब्दं तैरवाह्याः । संप्राप्ते वत्सरे सौम्ये पंचतृशच्च तैरवाः ।  
पांगे गद्याणका प्रा-

- १ ह्या ग्रामेस्मिन्मेदिनीभुजा । काणैकपंचकं किमपि  
 २ लसविघटिकाक्षारुदत्रि  
 ३ मिश्राततनालिकेरतरुभिः प्राक्सीमि लोकश्रुता अस्त्यस्या अपि दक्षिणेद्रि-  
 षधनं स्रोतःशिलामंडलं  
 ४ न्यासालक्षतटं ततोपि दृषदां मालास्ति सीमाश्रया । याम्ये वरुणनिरुद्धे  
 दिग्भागे खातिका तटन्यस्ता ।  
 ५ अस्ति ततादृषदाली सीमापतिवदिवदनमुद्राभा । तस्याः कुंदणवणमिति  
 यत्क्षेत्रं तस्य वारुणी सीमा । म-  
 ६ र्यादास्ति सुविदिता तस्या अपि पूर्ववदनदिग्भागे । निकटा-  
 स्तिसरित्तटे  
 ७ टः । एषोप्यस्ति निखातो ग्राम खज्जणद्वयधान्यं  
 ८ चितं । प्रतिबलखज्जणमेत सस्यादिजातविभवे  
 ग्रामेस्मि-  
 ९ न्कोपि यदि पुरातनकः । एतद्रामस्वामी मोहवशात्सीमिकंटकं कुरुते  
 ग्रामक्षेत्रतदूषणं-  
 १० गरिकापल्वलादिसम्बन्धे । दद्यः स स्यान्नृपतेरहितार्हः सहस्रदः । इत्येष  
 विदितसीमा ग्रामो म-  
 ११ सुवृक्षमालाभिः । आचंद्रं भोक्तव्यो वंद्यैः पुत्रादिभिरनेन । सम्मतधना-  
 तिरिक्तां बाधामवनीश्व-  
 १२ रोतिलुब्धात्मा । ग्रामस्यास्य करिष्यति स भविष्यति नरकभाजन-  
 मसत्यः । इह लोकेति निधानां  
 १३ कृतैषा परलोकिता । पुंसामशुद्धचित्तानां प्रतिपन्नोपमर्दिनाम् । तन्मनो-  
 ब्रवचनैर्विरचित-  
 १४ ममुनैव विश्वरूपेण । व्यावहारपत्रकविना शासनमवगम्यमान्यमुचितञ्च ।

*Translation*

A bow to the Great Varāha (hog).

Let the nostril of Vishnu who in sport became a hog protect you—  
 (the nostril) which was entered by the lord of serpents who was weary on  
 account of the poisoning of the earth.

The man renowned as *Trilochanakadamba* who had no enemy equal to  
 him, whose prowess was incapable of description and who was exceedingly

brave, was born on account of the falling at the root of a Kadamba (tree) of the discharge of Shambhu's sweat produced on account of the battle of destruction with (the demon) Pura.

Therefore this line of the kings, whose merit and knowledge were pure, and whose prowess had thrown into the background (all) that had been acquired by the Solar and Lunar line of kings came to be known as the Rising *Kadamba*. In it (was born) the famous king *Guhanna*, the long-lived, who was the meritorious *Varāha* incarnate for supporting the earth, whose fame had reached the heaven, whose Gotra (family) was pure and who was like the moon to the lotuses in the form of all the enemy kings.

Who was the resort of the *Pallava* (Kings) who were frightened on account of the gaping mouths of the jackals howling cruelly in their revelry of having tasted the juice of the besieged bodies; whose victory is still proclaimed by the battlefields, fierce on account of the arrangement of a multitude of skulls of the haughty kings in the surrounding regions opposed to him.

I imagine that (the goddess) *Durga* does not leave the skirts of the Himalaya mountains, though she has the following of an army of Bhutas and though she has her sword drawn, on account of the groundless fear that the beast which she rides will be killed (which fear) is produced on account of his fame that (he is) the destroyer of tigers.

I imagine that on account of all the three worlds being rendered white by his fame which surpasses in lustre (even) full noon (the goddess) *Girijā* does not still embrace (the god) *Girish* with the suspicion of his being a stranger on account of the deep dark spot (on his neck) being eliminated.

From him was born a son, the lord of the earth encircled by the four seas, whose fame was pure and honoured; and who, though he was the first among a multitude of the donors, was made famous by the name *Shashtha* (*lit.* the sixth) by ignorant astrologers.

He whose deeds followed his words, gave a new meaning to the injunctions and the interpretation of the *Purāṇas* which had become old.

He practised the severe vow of an ascetic and controlled now the earth without any trouble. It was indeed a miracle that he controlled together a pair of infatuated elephants.

The travellers who came for wealth to him by every road from (near) the eastern ocean, from the skirts of the Himalayas, from (near) the western ocean and from the *Setu* which is the banner of the valour of the

King of the Solar race, and the other travellers who went away with their desires satisfied by him, filled all the roads and left no space for others.

I imagine that the sea, though it is filled by the white waters of the Ganges, was conquered by his (i.e. the King's) deepness and assumed paleness on account of him who was famous for his battles and good qualities.

From him, who was of a contented disposition, was born a son (named) *Jayakēśideva*, who was the one leader in exterminating the kings and who was an enemy of the saffron marks (showing that the women's husbands were alive) of the multitudes of the queens of the enemy kings who were at war (with him).

His enemies collected in the bowers on the *Kishkindha* hills, frightened on the account of the victories obtained by him in battles with his mighty arms, hear of his fame which took away the pride of the *Śodha* and the haughty *Rasāras*, which killed the pride of the best among the *Lātas* and exterminated the *Chaulas* and the infatuated *Pallavas*.

The armies of him who is victorious, daily drink the water of the Ganges, which is muddy on account of the trampling (the armies) which bear an incessant war-cry and which march from the skirts of the Himalayas up to the sea why describe at length the routings made by him of the kings of the great island on the opposite shore? I think even the Lord of *Lanka* (Ceylon), the chief of the demons, does not sleep at ease (for fear of him) who has overspread the sea with his fleet, who with the reverberations of the splashes of his oars has made the sky noisy, and who has routed his enemies by hundreds of sharp arrows discharged from his strung bow.

While he who is the first among those who know politics is supporting the earth up to the seas alone, the subjects gave up (their) fear from the five (elements).

Knowing that his eyebrows were occupied by *Padmā* (the goddess of wealth) and his mouth by (the goddess of) speech, the Goddess of Victory embraced his two arms as if in jealousy of them.

The *Kātantrins* who were his enemies really became the followers of *Kātantra* (a grammarian) when having taken to a life on the hill forts they began to sing songs (composed) of good words. His whole wealth was the compassion that he showed towards the poor. As he has not given in charity that (compassion) he is a miser as well as a generous person.

Then there was (the king) named *Āliyam*, the peaceful, born in the city of *Śri-Vaimulya*, belonging to the line of the *Tajiyas*, whose navy was his wealth.

To him was born a son named *Madhumada*, who was the delight of the eyes of the people like the full moon.

To him was born a son named *Sadhan*, the mighty, who in the matter of protecting the realm of *Keshiraja* became his equal.

The charity of him who was wise, was the remover of the troubles of the afflicted, his strength was the destroyer of the enemies, and his character was the attractor of the minds of the good.

The village *Laghumorambika* with its beautiful surroundings is famous in the country named *Gopakadwipaka*.

It was barren and connected with the dilapidated *Ganvada*. That village named *Morambika* was given by *Keshiraja* who was the enjoyer of the revenue of the king by an arrangement with *Chhadhama*, the silent, with the consent of the ministers, without any price.

In the *Shake* year nine hundred eighty-one and (the *Samvatsar* year named) *Vikārin*, in the dark half of (the month of) *Ashadha*, Monday, on the eight day.

For ten consecutive years beginning from the year *Vikārin* thirty *Nishkas* (otherwise) called *Tairavas* should be taken, from the year *Saumya* thirty-five *Tairavas* should be taken. In this village the King should take *Gadyanakas*.

On the eastern side there is a famous grove of tall cocoanut trees, on the south there is a range of mountains which is encircled by water as well as rocks, on the boundary further on is a range of rocks.

On the western side and the southern side there is a trench dug out near the skirts (of the village). Further on there is a range of rocks which puts a stop to the disputes about boundaries.

The field named *Kundanavan* which is very famous is its western boundary. The eastern boundary is also well-known . . . . near it is the river bank.

This village also has a ditch around it . . . . there is a marshy land which yields two crops.

In this village which will have its wealth of crops, if any old owner of this village, owing to his folly, raises any dispute relating to the area of the village, the saline soil, the hillocks or the ponds . . . .

Thus this village which has its boundaries known, and which is full of good trees and creepers, should be enjoyed by his sons and (other) lineal descendants up to the end of the world.

If any King, owing to excessive greed, gives trouble to this village by raising the accepted (fixed) revenue, he, the false one, will become fit for hell.

### Rāya Viragal of Jayakēśi I

Found at Rāya, Salsette, Goa, by Rev. H. Heras, S.J., and deciphered and translated by Professor K. G. Kundangar; now in the Museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

#### Text

೧. ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಧಿಗತ ಪಂಚಮಹಾಸಬ್ಬ ಮಹಾ ಮಣ್ಣು
೨. ಲೀಸ ಕಾದವ್ವು ಜಯಕೇಸಿ ವರ್ಷದ ಸಕ ವರ್ಷ ೯೯೩
೩. ನೆಯ ವಿರೋಧಿಕ್ರಿತು ಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಜೇಷ್ಠ ಬಹು
೪. ೪ ಚತುರ್ಥಸಿ ಸೊನುವಾರ ಸಂಕ್ರಮಣ ವಳ್ಳಿಯ
೫. ಪುರದ ಭೂಪದೇವರ ಜಾವರಿ ಗೊಬ್ಬರಸಿಣಿ
೬. ....ಡಿವಾಡಿ ಸತ್ತನಾತ.....
೭. ಜಿತೆನಲಭ್ಯತೆಭೂಮಿಮ್ರಿತೆನಾಪಿ ಸುರಾಂಗನಾ ಸ್ತು
೮. ವಿ..... ಮರಣಂ ರಣಂ

#### Translation

On Monday the Samkrāmaṇa day the 14th of the dark half of Jyēṣṭha Virūdhikṛt Sainvatsara 993rd year of the Śaka year in the reign of Kādamba Jayakēśi who had attained the titles Pañchmahāśabda and mahā-maṇḍalēsa, Gobbarasipi, the champion of lord Bhūpa of Valliyapura, fought and died . . . .

The victor attains land, the dead one also is united with heavenly damsels. . . .

### Dharwar Inscription of Jayakēśi II

Inscription lying in the Museum of the Karnatak College, Dharwar. Place of origin unknown. Deciphered and translated by Professor K. G. Kundangar.

#### Text

೧. ಶ್ರೀಮಹಾಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಿದೇವಿ ಶರಣು || ನಮಸ್ತುಂಗ ಶಿರಃಚುಂಬಿ ಚಂದ್ರಚಾ  
ಮರ ಚಾರವೆ ತ್ರೈಲೋಕ್ಯ

೨. ನಗರಾರಂಭ ಮೂಲಸ್ತಂಭಾಯ ಶಂಭವೆ॥ ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀಕಾದಂಬ ವೀರ  
ಜಯಕೇಸಿ ದೇವ ನ
೩. ಪರ್ವ ಲೋನೆಯ ಕ್ಷಯ ಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಜೀಷ್ಠ ಸು। ಸುಕ್ರವಾರದಲು ಶ್ರೀ  
ಮನುಮಹಾ
೪. ಗ್ರ ಹಾರಂ ಹುಪ್ಪವಳ್ಳಿಯ ವೀಸರದ ಪ್ರಮುಖದ ಪಶಮಹಾ
೫. ಜನಂಗ.....ಹಾಗ ಬೆ(?) ಯಾಗಿ ನೆರೆದಿದ್ದು.....ಮತ್ಸವಾಂ  
ಶ್ರೀ ಮಹಾ
೬. ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಿ ದೇವಿಯ ಪ್ರತಿಷ್ಠೆಯಂ ಮಾಡಿಸಿ ಆ....ವಿಯ....ಳಕ್ಕೊಂದು
೭. ಮ.....ವಕಶ (?).....ಹಾಳಿ.....ಯಾಗಿ ಬಿಟ್ಟಿ?.....
೮. ಕೆಯ ಕಂಬ ೪೦೦ ಆ.....ದ ಬಳಿಯ.....ಸಹರ  
ಅಂಗಡಿ ಬೀದಿಯ.....
೯. ....ಯಿಂ ಪಡುವಲು ಯೆನೆ ಸ್ಥಳ ಲು.....ಗಲಯೆ ಬಡಗ ೬  
ಕಂ.....
೧೦. ನೀಡ್ತ....ಅಂಗಡಿ ೧ ಆದರ....ಳಸಾರಿಗೆ ದ.....ವ  
ಮಳ.....
೧೧. ವಿಯಂ ನೀರು ಪುರ ಸೇರಿ.....ಗಿಕ್ಕಿ.....ಯ ನಿಪು ಸ.....
೧೨. ಕೃವಾಗಿ ಬಿಟ್ಟರು ಕಾಲಪ ಮೊ.....ಂನು ದೇವ ಕಾರ್ಯವ ನಡಸ.....  
ಮ॥
೧೩. ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಧಿಗ ಭುವನ ವಿಖ್ಯಾತ ಎಂಟು ಸಾಸಿ.....
೧೪. ಗಣಗ....ಶ್ರೀ.....ತಸಾ.....ಮ ಚಾತ್ರನಯ....ಯ
೧೫. ....ದಾನಧರ್ಮಪ್ರ....ಸಾ.....ಗುಡ್ಡಧಜಮಂ ವಗವರಿ
೧೬. ಬುಧ ವರ ಪ್ರಸಾದ.....ಹಲಸಿಗೆ ಹನ್ನಿಸ್ವರ್ಗಸಿ
೧೭. ರ ಧಾರವಾಡ ನರೇಂದ್ರ.....ಮೈಯ....ಯಿಂ ಮನಾ
೧೮. ....ಪಟ್ಟಣದಸೆಟ್ಟಿ ಸುತರು ಆಸೆ.....ದುನ್ಯೈತ್ಯ ಚೌರಸೆಟ್ಟಿ  
ಕಂನಿ

೧೯. ಸಾಸನಿಸೆಟ್ಟಿ ದೇಸಿಸೆಟ್ಟಿ ಮುಮರಿ ದಂಡಂರಪ ಮು  
 ೨೦. ಖ್ಯವಾಗಿ ಆ ಮಹಾಜನಂಗಳ ಸಂನಿಧಾನದಲು ಆ ಊರ ಸನಗಸರ  
 ೨೧. .... ಬಿಟ್ಟ ಬಲಿಸಿದ್ದು ಗ ಗ ತಿಲಿಗರುದಲಿಯ ನಂದ ದೀವಿಗೆಂದು  
 ಹಾಡ  
 ೨೨. .... ಪಣ್ಣಿ ಸೌಡಿ ಗ ಗ || ಸಾಸಿ ವೀರು ವಯಿಮಾಳನಾ  
 ೨೩. ....ವರು ಪ್ರಮುಖರು ಪಟ್ಟಣದಸೆಟ್ಟಿ ಗು.....ರು ಮುಖ್ಯ  
 ವಾಗಿ.....ಮ  
 ೨೪. ಹಾಜನಂಗಳ ಸಂನಿಧಾನದಲು ದೇವಿಯ ಚೈತ್ರ ಪವಿ.....  
 ೨೫. ದು ಎಲೆಯ ಬಾಜಂಗರು ಆದಿವರು ಹ ಗ ದಂ ಬಿಟ್ಟರು || ದೇವಿಯ  
 ೨೬. ....ಪ....ರಂದು ವಾ....ತ್ರಿಗರು ತಮ ಎಲೆ.....  
 ೨೭. ಬಿಟ್ಟರು || ಶಾಸನ ವಿಧಾನ.....ದ....ಯ ಶಾಸನ ವಾದಿ.....  
 ೨೮. ನಾನೀ ಸಾಸನ ಮನೆ.....ತನ ನಾ ಕಳದಿ.....

### Translation

May the Goddess Mahālakṣmī be propitious! A bow to Śambhu whose lofty head was beautiful on account of the Chāmara in the form of the moon and who was the prime-pillar at the beginning of the town of the three worlds.

Hail! On Friday the 8th day of Jyeshtha Kṣhaya Samvatsara the 43rd year of Kadamba Jayakēśi-dēva the dignitaries and the loaders of the Agrahāra of Huppavalli having assembled and having consecrated the image of Mahā-Lakṣmī granted with all salutations the paddy lands and . . . . for the offering of food for the Goddess. The boundaries are . . . . The grant will be maintained by . . . .

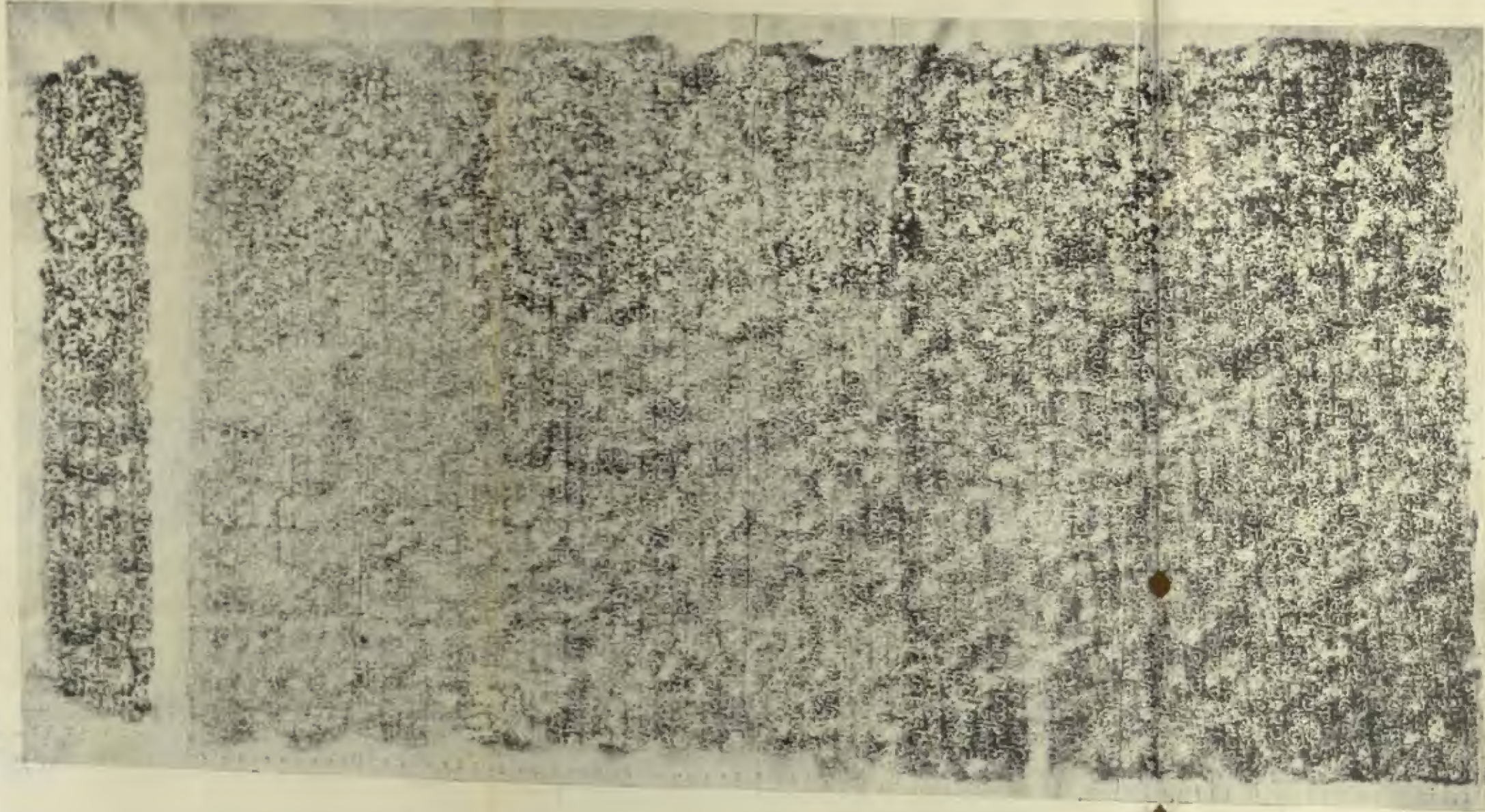
Hail! While the glorious king . . . . was ruling over Halasige, Dhārwar, Narēndra, etc. Paṭṭanadasetṭi . . . , the physician Koti-setṭi, Sāsanisetṭi granted one satteya of paddy from the income of the town and for the everlasting lamp nine pavas. The gentlemen of the town granted in the presence of the leaders of the town . . . . for the Chaitra worship of the goddess.

### Māngundi Inscription of Jayakēśi III

Inscription originally from Māngundi, Dharwar Taluqua, now lying in the Museum of the Karnatak College, Dharwar. Deciphered and translated by Prof. K. G. Kundangar.

#### Text

೧. ಓಂ ನಮಶಿವಾಯ || ನಮಸ್ತುಂಗಶಿರಸ್ತುಂಗಚಂದ್ರಚಾಮರಚಾರವೆ  
ತ್ರೈಲೋಕ್ಯನಗರಾರಂಭ ಮೂಲಸ್ತಂಭಾಯ ಸಂ
೨. ಭವೆ || ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಸ್ತ ಭುವನಾತ್ರಯ ಶ್ರೀಪ್ರಿಥ್ವಿವಲ್ಲಭ ಮಹಾರಾಜಾಧಿರಾಜ  
ಪರಮೇಶ್ವರ ಪರಮಭಟ್ಟಾರಕ ಸತ್ಯಾತ್ರಯ
೩. ಕುಳತಿಳಕಂ ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯಾಭರಣಂ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ರಿಭುವನಮಲ್ಲದೆವ ವಿಜಯ  
ರಾಜ್ಯಮುತ್ತರೋತ್ತಾರಾಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಪ್ರವರ್ಧಮಾನ ಮಾ
೪. ಚಂದ್ರಾರ್ಕತಾರಂ ಬರಂ ಬರಂ ಸಲುತ್ತಮಿರೆ || ವೃ || ಪಲಕೇಷದಿಂ ಪಲ  
ಪ್ರೋಗಕೆ ವಿರಾಜಿಸುತಿರ್ಪು ಸುದಾನ ಶೂರದಿಂ, ಸುಲಲಿ
೫. ತ ಕೀರ್ತಿಯಂ ತಳೆದದಿಬುತಪೋವನದಿಂದಿನಂ ಕರಂ, ಮಲವರಿ ಭೂಪರಂ  
ದರ್ಪಮರ ದಿವ್ಯವ ವೀರಭಟಾರಿಯಂ ಕರಂ, ಪಲ
೬. ಸುಗುಣಗೋಡದಿಂದೊಗಯಿಸಿದ್ದೊ ಕಳ್ಳಮಹೀಷದಂದದಿಂ || ಕ || ಆ  
ವಿಷಯಮನಾಳ್ವರ್ಪಲ ರೀವಸುಧಿಯ ದುಷ್ಟರಿಪುಗಳಂಗೆಲ್ಪದೀ.....  
ರೇವಳಮೆಭೂ
೭. ಮಿಸಾಳ, ಕಾವತ್ತಮಗೆ..... ಸಿಂದ ಭೂಮೀಶ್ವರರಂ || ಅಂನಾಯ  
ನ್ವಯದೊಳು || ವೃ || ಅಂತಾಯನ್ವಯದೊಳು || ವೃ || ದೇವಕಾವದೇವನ್ಯ  
ಭೂಪರರಿಯ ಕೊಂದಿಕ್ಕುವಂ ಭೀತರಂ
೮. ಕಾವಂ ತಂನ್ನಪದದ್ವಯಕೇಷಗಲಾ.....ಕ್ಷಿತಿಕಕರ್ತೃಳಿಂ  
ನೆರಂ.....ನುಡಿವಲ್ಲೆ ಶಿವಚಿತ್ತಂ ವೀರಸೆನ್ನಾಡಿತಾಂ  
ಭೂವಂದ್ಯಂ ಗೆಲ್ಲಪರಾತ್ಮಚರಿತಂ
೯. ದು..... || ಕ || ಆತನ ಸಹೋದರಂ ತಾಂ, ಭೂತಳದೊಳು  
ಕೀರ್ತಿವೆತ್ತಂ ನಮಳ ಚರಿತ್ರಂ, ಮಾತೇನೊ ವಿಜಯದೇವಂ ಗಾತಂಗಂ  
ಸ್ವರಿಯೆ ಭೂ
೧೦. ಮಿಸಾಳದ್ವರೆಯೊಳು || ಆತಂ ಗಾದಂ ತನೂಜಂ ಭೂನೂತ ಜಯಕೇಶಿ  
ದೇವ ಮಹಿಮಂತಳೆದಂ ಮಾ.....ಸಕಳಧಾತ್ರಿಯನೇನುಂ  
ಕಾದರಿಲ್ಲ ತನ್ನ ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ಭುಜದೊಳೆ ||



55. Māṅuṇḍī Inscription of Jayakēśi III.

By kind permission of the Principal, Karnatak College, Dharwar.



೧೧. ವ || ಅನ್ತಾನ್ಯಪಂತಂನ ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ಭುಜದಂಡದಿಂದ ಭೂಮಂಡಲಮನೋತ್ತಿ  
ಯಾರ್ಥತನಗೆಜಗಿದರಿಭೂಪರಕಾದು ವಿಕ್ರಾಂತದುರ್ಬಿನಿಂದೆದುರಾದ  
ವಿರೋಧಿ ಭೂಪರಂ ಗೆಲಕೆ.....
೧೨. ಮಾಡಿಸ.....ಶ್ವರ ದೇವಲಬ್ಧವರಪ್ರಸಾದನುಂ ಕೊಂಕಣ  
ಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿಯುಂ ಹರಶರಣಪ್ರನೂತನುಂ ತ್ಯಾಗಸಿಂಹಾಸನಚಕ್ರವ  
ರ್ತಿಯುಮೆಂಬಿವು ಮೊದಲಾದ
೧೩. ನೇಕಪೆಸಂಗ್ಗಲೆ ಸಂದು ಸುಖಸಂಕಥಾವಿನೋದದಿಂದ ರಾಜ್ಯಂ(ಗೆ)  
ಯ್ಯುತ್ತಂ || ಮತ್ತಂ || ಪುರುಹೂತಂಗೆಂತು ವಜ್ರಾಯುಧವುಳ  
ಲಳಕರಾಮಂಗೆಂತು ಆಶಾಂ ಗಿರಿಜಾಧೀ
೧೪. ಶಂಗೆ ತೇಜಂ ಪಿರಿದೆನ್ನಿಸಿದ ಕಂಡೆ ಪಾಂಡುರಾಜಂಗೆ ಪಾರ್ಥಂ ಕರಣಂ  
ಸೂರ್ಯಂಗೆ ಪುಟ್ಟಿದ್ದು.....ತೇಜದೆ ಪುಣ್ಯಾತ್ಮಕಂ ಪುಟ್ಟಿದಂತಾ  
ನರನಾದ ವಜ್ರದೇವಂ ಜಿತಮಹೀ ಜ
೧೫. ಯಕೇಶಿಕ್ಷಿತೀಶಗೆ ಪರಂ || ಮತ್ತಮಾ.....ಕ್ಷತ್ರಿಯ ಪವಿತ್ರನನಾಡೊಳು  
ಹುಲಂಬಿಯಪ್ಪತ್ತಜೊಳಗೆ || ಗಣನೆಗಳುಂಬವಪ್ಪಬಿನದಿಂದಹರಿಕಾ
೧೬. ರಿಯನ್ನಿರ್ಗಲಿಂದೆ ತಿಂತಿಣೆಯೆ.....ಫಳಪುಷ್ಪಚಯಂಗಳನೊಲ್ಲು  
ಗೂಡಕಣ್ಣುಣೆಯುವ ನಿಜ್ಜರೋದಕದ ಪೂಗೊಳದಿಂದೆಸೆದಿವ್ವುದೆಂದು  
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೧೭. ....ಸಲುಕೆ ಮಣಿಗುಂಡಗೆ ಶೋಭಿಸುತಿವ್ವುದಾವಗಂ || ವ ||  
ಅಲ್ಲಿ ಸಮಸ್ತ ದಾರಂಧರರಪ್ಪ ತಾಪಸರನ್ನಯಮೆಂತಂದಡೆಂ ||
೧೮. ಮನಸಿಜನಿನ್ನದರ್ಪಮನಡಂಗಿಸು ಪೊಂಗಿವನೇಡನಿನ್ನ ದುರ್ವಿನಯದಿ  
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೧೯. ....ಬಂಟೆ ಪೆಂಪಿನಿಂದರ್ಪಂ.....ಶಿವಸಕ್ತಿ ಕಣ್ಣೆಸೆದನಾ  
ಶ್ರಿತ ಕಳ್ಳಮಹೀಜನೆಂಬಿನಂ || ವೃ || ಧರೆಗೊಪ್ಪಿ ಶಿವ(ಶ)ಕ್ತಿ ದೇವ ಮು  
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೨೦. ತ.....ಸ್ವರದವ್ಯಾಪಿಸಮಸ್ತಶಾಸ್ತ್ರನಿಪುಣಚಾರಿತ್ರವಾರಾಸಿ ಬನ್ನರ  
.....ವರಾನನಾಂಬರ ಶಶಾಂಕಂ..... ಪರಮಾನಂದದೆ  
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೨೧. ....ಪ್ರಸಾದವಿಸ್ತಾರಮಂ || ವೃ || ಅನ್ತಾ.....ಪ್ಪನ ತನೂಜ  
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೨೨. ಪರಮಾರ್ಥ.....ವೆತ್ತಂ ಗುಣಬೆತ್ತಂ .....ಧರೆ.....  
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೨೩. ....ದಂ || ಅವರ (ಮ)ಹಿಮೋಂನತಿಕ್ಕೆ ವಿಭ.....ದೋಳಾಸಂ  
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.....ಮುನೀಶ್ವರನ.....ಪದ್ಮಾ
೨೪. ....ತ್ರತಳಮಂ || ಅಂತಾ ಮುನೀಂದ್ರ ಪಾದೋಪಾಂತದೊಳತಿ  
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೨೫. ....ಶ್ರೀಗಿರಿಜಾವರ..... ದೇವಜನಸ್ತುತನ .....ಗೆ  
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೨೬. ಧಾತಳಾಶ್ರಿತಕಳ್ಳರುಜಂಗೆ ಶಂಕರ ಚೂಡ ಚಂದ್ರಭೂಷಣ ಮುನಿಪ್ರವ  
ರಂಗೆ ಧರಿತ್ರಿ.....ನಂ || .....ತಜವಜನಂಪರಾ || ಸಿಸಾಸ್ತುತಮಪ್ಪ  
ಸುಖಸ್ವರೂಪದಿಂದಾ
೨೭. ....ವ ತಪಸ್ವಿ.....ಧರೆಗೆ ರಂಜಪನೀಮುನಿಮುಖ್ಯ ನಂದದಿಂದಾ  
.....ವನ ..... ಜೀವನಚಯಂಗಳನುದ್ಧತ.....ಮಾನ  
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೨೮. ಚಂದ್ರಭೂಷಣಂ || ಅಂನತ್ತಿ ಮುನೀಶ್ವರಂಸ.....ಳ ಧರ್ಮಪ್ರಸಾ  
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೨೯. ....ಮಾಡಿ.....ಗ್ರಹಮಂ ನಾಡೊಳಗಣ ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧಿಯಂ ಪಡೆದು  
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೩೦. ....ಬಣಂಜಿಗಮುದದೆ ಕಟ್ಟಿದೊಡ ..... ಪಟ್ಟಿಮಾರ್ಗಂ  
ಬಂದವಗೆ ಬಬಾಪ್ಪು ವಂದಾನೆ ಕರದಿತ್ತುದಭಾಗವಾರ್ಗವಿನ್ನಿರದತಿ  
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೩೧. ....ದೊಳೆರತ್ತಿ ನೆಗಲ್ ಪಟ್ಟಣ ನಾಲ್ಕುಪೊಳಪ್ಪ ಸೆಟ್ಟಿಯರು  
.....ಗೊಂಡ ಭಕ್ತಜನಾವಳಿಯೊಳು ದ.....ದಾಸಿಸೆಟ್ಟಿಯ  
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೨೨. .... ನಿವಂ..... ವಸ್ತು ವಂ ಗಂಗಂಣಂ ..... ಮ್ಯು  
ಶಕ್ತಿಯಿಂದಂ ನಿಮ್ಮದಾಗಳು ಬೆಸಸಿದಂದದಿಂ ೩೦ ಗ್ರಹಮಂ ನೂಮ್ಯು  
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೨೩. .... ವಂ..... ಕೊಯಾಳಿದಾಸನತಿಮುದದಿಂದಲು ಸ್ವರರಿಪು  
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೨೪. .... ಸೆವಿಂ..... ವನಾಗನಮಳಚರಿತ್ರಂ || ಅಂಸ್ತವರು ಮುಖ್ಯ  
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೨೫. ಡಿದಮೃಹೋತ್ಸವದಿಂದಂ || ..... ನುಡಿದಂ..... ಯ್ಯಮಂಪಡೆದು  
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೨೭. .... ರತ್ತಿಯಿಂದನವರತಂ ಸೊಗಯಿಸುವಳೆಂದು ಬಂಜೆಪರಗಣತ  
ಗುಣಯುತರನುಗುರ ಮೂನೂರ್ವರುಮಂ || ಎರಲೆಯ ಬೊಜಂಗ  
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೨೮. .... ಸಹಿ..... ಸೊಗಯಿಪ್ಪರೀ ಧರೆಗೆ ಸತ್ಯ..... ಸುಚರಿತ್ರ  
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೨೯. .... ನಿಸಲುಡಾತ್ತ ಗುಣಾನ್ವಿತರೀ ಧರಿತ್ರಿಯೊಳೆನಿಸಿ..... ರಿಂದೆ  
ಮೂಲತಿಳಿಯ ಪರಮನ ಪಾದಾಂಬು(ಜ)ಯುಗಮಂ ಭಜಿಸು.....  
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೪೦. .... ನಂ ಮನೂರ್ಜಂತಕನಂ ಪದಪಿಂ ಮಾಡುವ ದಾನಶಕ್ತಿ  
ಪ್ರತಿತಥಮ್ಯಾಧಾರಕತ್ವಂ ಜಗಕ್ಕೊದವಿ..... ಮಣ್ಣೆಂ  
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೪೧. .... ವಿಜಿತಮಪ್ಪ ತೇಜವಿನಿತುಂ ತಂಮಿಂದೆ ಪೋದಪ್ಪವೆಂದು  
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೪೨. ....ಧ್ಯಂತಸಂಸ್ತುತಸುಚಿತ್ರರುದಾತ್ತರಪ್ರತಿನುರಿತೀ ಧಾತ್ರಿಯೊಳು ಸಂಪದರ್ ಸನ್ಮತಿಯೊಳು ಕೆವಳಮೆ ಮಹಾಮತಿ.....  
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೪೩. ....ಸ್ವಾಸಿಸ್ವರಂದಸ್ವರಾ || ಧರೆಬಂಧ್ವಪ್ಪದು ತೇಜದುಂನ್ನತಿ ಕೆಯಂ.....ಯ್ಯದೊಂದೊಜೆಯಂ ಪಿರಿದುಂ ಶೋಭಿಸುತ್ತಿ ಪ್ಪನಂ ಸುಚರಿತ ಪ್ರಖ್ಯಾತನಂ ವೀ
೪೪. ರನಂ.....ಸೂನುವಂ ಪರಹಿತ.....ಪಾ.....ನಂ ಪುಣ್ಯ ದಿಂದೊಳ.....ನತ್ಯುದಾರಗಿನ ಗೊಂಚಾರುದಗಾಂ ಮಂ(ಂ)ಡನಂ ||  
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೪೫. ಫಣದೇವರ ನಿಯಾಮದಿಂ ಶ್ರೋತೃಭುವನಪರಜಯ-ಶಿವಪರದರಾಲ ಯಮಂ.....ವಿಸ್ತರ.....ಡಿದರದೆಂತೆನೆ || ಶ್ರೀಸ್ವಸ್ತಿಕಲಿ ಯುಗ ಸಂವತ್ಸರಂ ೪೨೮೯ ಸಂ
೪೬. ದಂದೋಳಿಯಾಗಿ ಶ್ರೀವೀರ ಜಯಕೇಶಿ ದೇವ ವರ್ಷ ೯೧೬ನೆಯ ದುಂದು ಭಿಸಂವತ್ಸರದೆ ಪುಷ್ಯ ಬಹುಳ ಅಷ್ಟಮಿ ಬುಧವಾರದಂದು ವುತ್ತ ರಾಯಣ ಸಂಕ್ರಮಣ ನಿಮಿತ್ತಂ ಚಾವುಂ
೪೭. ಡಗಾವುಂಡಂ ಹೊ.....ಗ ಹುಣಸಿಯಂ ಪಡುವಲು.....  
೭ ಮತ್ತರು ಕೆಯ್ಯಂ ಆ ಮಣಗುಂದಗೆಯ ಶ್ರಿಭುವನ ವೀರಜಯ ಕೇಶಿ ದೇವರ ಆಚಾರ್ಯರು ಚಂದ್ರಭೂ
೪೮. ಪಣ ದೇವರಿಗೆ ಕಾಲಂ ಕರ್ಚಿ ಧಾರಾಪೂರ್ವಕಂ ಮಾಡಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟನು || ಮತ್ತಂ ರುಧಿರೋದ್ಗಾರಿ ಸಂವತ್ಸರ ಫಾಲ್ಗುಣ ಸುದ್ಧ ಪುಣ್ಯಮೆ ಸುಕ್ರವಾರದಂದಾ ಮಣಿ.....ದಗೆಯ ಸ್ಥಳದಾ
೪೯. ನೂರ್ವರುಂ ಜೈತ್ರದ ಪರ್ವಕ್ಕೆ ಆ.....ಹಾ.....ಪವಿತ್ರದ ಪ ರ್ವಕ್ಕೆ ಆಳಲಿ ಹಾ.....ಹಸೆಯ ಹಣವಂತನಿತುಮಂ ಆ ಚಂದ್ರ ಭೂಪಣ ದೇವರ ಕಾಲಂ ಕರ್ಚಿ ಧಾ
೫೦. ರಾಪೂರ್ವಕಂ ಮಾಡಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟರು || ಮತ್ತವಾಮಣಿಗುಂದಗೆಯಯ್ಯ ನೂಜ ನಾಲ್ವರುಂ ಜೈತ್ರದ ಪರ್ವಕ್ಕೆ ಆಳಟ್ಟಿಹಾಗೆ ಪವಿತ್ರದ ಪರ್ವಕ್ಕೆ ಆಳಟ್ಟಿ ಹೊಗವನ್ನನಿತುಮಂ ಚಂದ್ರ
೫೧. ಭೂಪಣ ದೇವರ ಕಾಲಂ ಕರ್ಚಿ ಧಾರಾಪೂರ್ವಕಂ ಮಾಡಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟರುಂ || ಮತ್ತಂ ಕಾವಣದ ವಿನಾಯಕಂಗೆ ಹಸೆಯಹಣಂ ಮೊದಲಾಗಿಯಾ ವಿನಾಯಕಂಗೆ ಏನು ಹುಟ್ಟಿದದಂ
೫೨. ಕೊಟ್ಟೀವೆಂದು ಆ ಚಂದ್ರಭೂಪಣ ದೇವರಿಗೆ ಕಾಲಂ ಕರ್ಚಿ ಧಾರಾ ಪೂರ್ವಕಂ ಮಾಡಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟರು || ಮತ್ತಂ ಮುಗುದದ ಮೂನೂರ್ವರು ಪವಿತ್ರದ ಪರ್ವಕ್ಕೆ ಆಳಟ್ಟಿ ಹೊಗಮಂ ಚಂ

೫೩. ದ್ರಭೂಷಣ ದೇವರಿಗೆ ಕಾಲಂ ಕರ್ಚ್ಚಿ ಧಾರಾಪೂರ್ವಕಂ ಮಾಡಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟರು॥ ಮತ್ತುಂ ಹುಸ್ತಿನದಯವುಗುರ ಮುನೂರ್ವರು ಪವಿತ್ರದ ಪರ್ವಕ್ಕೆ ಆಳಟ್ಟಿ ಹೊಗಮಂ ಚಂದ್ರ
೫೪. ಭೂಷಣ ದೇವರಿಗೆ ಕಾಲಂ ಕರ್ಚ್ಚಿ ಧಾರಾಪೂರ್ವಕಂ ಮಾಡಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟರು॥ ಮತ್ತುಂ ನುಗ್ಗಿಯ ಹಳ್ಳಿಯವುಗುರ ಮುನೂರ್ವರು ಪವಿತ್ರದ ಪರ್ವಕ್ಕೆ ಆಳಟ್ಟಿ ಹೊಗಮಂ ಚಂದ್ರಭೂಷಣದೇ
೫೫. ದೇವರಿಗೆ ಕಾಲಂ ಕರ್ಚ್ಚಿ ಧಾರಾಪೂರ್ವಕಂ ಮಾಡಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟರು॥ ಮತ್ತುಂ ಸತ್ತಿ ಪೂರಮೆ(೦)ದೊರ ಮುನೂರ್ವರುಂ ಪವಿತ್ರದ ಪರ್ವಕ್ಕೆ ಆಳಟ್ಟಿ ಹೊಗಮಂ ಚಂದ್ರಭೂಷಣ ದೇವರಿಗೆ ಕಾಲಂ ಕರ್ಚ್ಚಿ ಧಾರಾಪೂ
೫೬. ವರ್ವಕಂ ಮಾಡಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟರು॥ ಮತ್ತುಂ ನೀರುಸಾಗರ.....ದುರ ಮುನೂರ್ವರುಂ ಪವಿತ್ರದ ಪರ್ವಕ್ಕೆ ಆಳಟ್ಟಿ ಹೊಗಮಂ ಚಂದ್ರಭೂಷಣ ದೇವರಿಗೆ ಕಾಲಂ ಕರ್ಚ್ಚಿ ಧಾರಾಪೂರ್ವಕಂ ಮಾಡಿ ಕೊ
೫೭. ಟ್ಟರು॥ ಯಿಂತ್ತಿ.....ಪದುಸ್ಥಳದವರು ಪವಿತ್ರದ ಪ(ರ್ವ) ನೋಡಲು ಬಂನ್ದು ದೇವಕಾರ್ಯಮಂಕಂಡು ದೇವರಪ್ರಸಾದಮನುಂಕಂಡು ಉಪ್ಪು .....ದು ಸ್ಥಳ ಮುಖ್ಯರು ಮನಿ ಬಾಳ ಬಳಿ ಹರ್ಬಿದಲಿ ಪವಿತ್ರ
೫೮. ದ ಪರ್ವಕ್ಕೆ ಆಳಲ್ಲಿ ಹೊಗಮಂ ಚಂದ್ರಭೂಷಣ ದೇವರಿಗೆ ಕಾಲಂ ಕರ್ಚ್ಚಿ ಧಾರಾಪೂರ್ವಕಂ ಮಾಡಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟರು॥ ಮತ್ತುಂ ಕೊಲಿಕು .....ಕಂ.....ಗಲುನಂನ್ದು ಗೊಪ ಸೊನ್ನಲಿಗೆಯ ಪುರ
೫೯. ವಿಜಯಾಪುರ.....ಲಿನ್ನೀ ಸ್ಥಳದವರು ಮುಖ್ಯವಾಗಿ ಸಾಸಿ ವರ್ವರುಂ ಪವಿತ್ರದ ಪರ್ವಕ್ಕೆ ನೋಡಲುಂಬಂದು ದೇವಕಾರ್ಯಮಂ ಕಂಡು ಸಂತೋಸಂಬಟ್ಟು ದೇವರಿ.....ಹಪಿಂ
೬೦. ಗೆ ವೀಸ ಕಾವಣಕ್ಕೆ ಹೇಪಿಂಗೆ ವೀಸ ಪೊಕ್ಕಲಿಂಗಿ ವರ್ಷಪ್ರತಿ ಹ..... ಸಾಸಿವರ್ವರುಂ ನಾಲ್ಕು ಪಟ್ಟಣ ಮುಖ್ಯವಾಗಿ ಚಂದ್ರಭೂಷಣ ದೇವರ ಕಾಲಂ ಕರ್ಚ್ಚಿ ಧಾರಾಪೂರ್ವಕಂ ಮಾಡಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟರು
೬೧. ಮತ್ತುಂವಾನುಣಿಗುಂದಗೆಯ.....ತೊಕ್ಕಲು ಗಾಣಕೆ ಸೊಟಿಗೆ ಯೆಂಣಿಯಂ ಹೊರಗಣಿಂಬಂದು ಮಾಲುಪ ಹಾಡಕೆ ಸೊಟಿಗೆ ಯೆಂಣಿಯಂ ಧಾರಾಪೂರ್ವಕವಾಗಿ ಚಂದ್ರ
೬೨. ಭೂಷಣ ದೇವರಿಗೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟರು॥ ಶರಣಾಗತರಕ್ಷಕರಂ ಹರ ಹರಿ ಪಾದಾಂ ಬ್ಬ ಭೃಂಗರಂ ಧಾರಣೆಯೊಳು ಸಂಗಿಲ್ಲದೆ ಬಲ್ಲಾಳ್ಗಳನಿರಮುದದಿಂ ಪೋಳಬಿಲ್ಲ ಮುನೂರ್ವರುಂ॥ ಜೈತ್ರದ ಪರ್ವ
೬೩. ಕೈ ಹಾಗ ಪವಿತ್ರದ ಪರ್ವಕ್ಕೆ ಹಾಗವಂನಿಂತುಮಂ ಶೋಕಲಿಂಗಿ ಹಾಗಮಂ ಚಂದ್ರಭೂಷಣ ದೇವರ ಕಾಲಂ ಕರ್ಚ್ಚಿ ಧಾರಾಪೂರ್ವಕಂ ಮಾಡಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟರು॥ ಮತ್ತುಂವಾನುಣಿಗುಂದಗೆಯ.....

೬೪. ಟ್ಟಿನತ ಕಲಿಬಿಣ್ಣಯ ನಾಯಕಂ ತನ್ನತಕಾ.....ಯೊಳಗೆ ಬಳಯ  
ಕೊಳನಮುಂದೊತ್ತಿನ ಹುಣಸಿಯ ಮರನ ಹೊರ.....ಕಂಬ  
ಕೆಯ್ಯಂ ಚಂದ್ರ ಚಂದ್ರಭೂಷಣ ದೇವರ
೬೫. ಕಾಲಂ ಕರ್ಚ್ಚಿ ಧಾರಾಪೂರ್ವಕಂ ಮಾಡಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟರು || ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಕಲಿಯುಗ  
ಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ೪೨೯೬ ಸಂದಂದಾದಿಯಾಗಿ ಶ್ರೀಕಾದಂಬ ಶ್ರೀವೀರ  
ಜಯಕೇರಿ ದೇವ ವರ್ಷದ ೩೬ನೆಯ ಪ್ರಜಾಪತಿ ಸಂವತ್ಸರ
೬೬. ದ ಶ್ರಾನಣ ಬಹುಳ ೧೩ ಸೋಮವಾರದಂದು ನರಸಿಂಹ ಪಟ್ಟವರ್ಧ  
ನರು ಕಳೊಗುನೊಂಪಿಯ ದಕ್ಷಿಣೆಯ ದಾನದಿಂದ ಕಲಮಹಾದೇವ  
ಯರ ಕೈಯಿಂದ ಹಡದ ಮಣಿಗುಂದಗೆಯ ಕುರುಡ
೬೭. ನ ಕೊಳನ ಕೆಳಗಣ ಮೊಂದಲೇರಿಯ ನಾಲ್ಕು ಭಂಡಿ ಭತ್ತದ ಗದ್ದೆಯನು  
ಅವರ ಮಕ್ಕಳು ಮಾಡೇವವೈಸ್ಸರು ಅವರ ತಮ್ಮಂದಿರು.....ಗಳು  
ಅವರ ತಮ್ಮಂದಿರು ತಿಕ್ಕಯ್ಯಂಗಳು ಅವತಂಮ್ಮಂ
೬೮. ದಿರು ವಿಷ್ಣು ದೇವನಂತಾ ನಾಲ್ವರ ಕೈಯ್ಯಲು ೩ ಗದ್ದೆಯನು ಮಣಿ  
ಗುಂದಗೆಯ ಜೋಡಸ ಬೊಮ್ಮಯ್ಯಂಗಳ ಮಕ್ಕಳು ಆಚಯ್ಯ ತಿಪ್ಪ  
ಯ್ಯಂಗಳು ಕ್ರಮವಾಗಿ ಕೊಂಡಿರಲು ಆ ತಿಪ್ಪಯ್ಯ ಮಾಡಿದ  
ರಿಣಕ್ಕೆ ತ
೬೯. ....ಂ ನಂಶಮಂ ಆತನ ಹೆಂಡತಿ ತಿಪ್ಪವೈತಂಮ್ಮ ಭಾವ ಆಚಯ್ಯಂಗೆ  
ಕುಡಲು ಆ ಆಚಯ್ಯನು ತನ್ನ ಆ ಗದ್ದೆಯ ನಾಲ್ಕು ಭಂಡಿ ಭತ್ತದ  
ಸ್ಥಳದ ನಾಲ್ಕು ಸೀಮೆಯೆಂತೆಂದಡೆ ಮೂಡಣಸೀಮೆ ಹು
೭೦. ಪ್ಪವಳ್ಳಿಯದಾರಿ ಬಡಗಣಸೀಮೆ ಹುಪ್ಪವಳ್ಳಿಯದಾರಿ ತೆಂಕಣಸೀಮೆ  
ಅರಳಿಯ ಗದ್ದೆಯ ಬಡಗಣ ಬರುಹುಮೇರಿ ಪಡುವಣಸೀಮೆಗೆ ಕುರು  
ದನ ಕೊಳನ ವಿರಿ ಅಂತಾ ನಾಲ್ಕುಂಸೀಮೆಯ ಸ್ಥ
೭೧. ಳದ ಮಗಿಲೊಳಗೆ ಅಬುಗಯಿವರ ಮನೆಮಗಿಲ ಹೊಳಗೆ ಇಕ್ಕೆಯಿ  
ಮನೆ ಅಕ್ಷೀಣಿ ಆಗಾಮಿಸಹಿತ ಸಮಸ್ತ ಬಡ್ತಿ ಸಹಿತ ಮಣಿಗುಂದಗೆಯ  
ಶ್ರೀಗ್ರಾಮೇಶ್ವರದೇವರಾಜಾರ್ಯ ಚಂದ್ರಭೂಷ
೭೨. ಣ ದೇವರ ಕೈಯಲು ಲೊಕ್ಕೆಯಪ್ಪಿಯ ಶ್ರಹೆಯಗದ್ಯಾಣ ೫೨ ಮಂ  
ಕೊಂಡು ಆ ಗ್ರಾಮೇಶ್ವರ ದೇವರಿಗೆ ಕ್ರಯದಾನವಾಗಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟರು ||  
ಶ್ರೀಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಕಲಿಯುಗ ಸಂವತ್ಸರಂ ೪೨೯೯ ಸಂದಂದಾದಿಯಾ
೭೩. ಗಿ ಶ್ರೀಕಾದಂಬ ಶ್ರೀವೀರ ಜಯಕೇರಿ ದೇವ ವರ್ಷದ ೩೯ನೆಯ ಭಾವ  
ಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಮಾಘ ಬ ೫ ವಡ್ವಾರದಂದು ಹೂಲಿಯ ಈಶ್ವರ  
ಭಟ್ಟಿಪಾಧ್ಯಾಯರುಂ ಅವರ ಮಕ್ಕಳು ನಾರಸಿಂಹಭಟ್ಟರು ಆ  
(ವ)ಪೋರ್ವರ ಕೈಯ್ಯಲು

೭೪. ಮಣಿಗುಂದಿಗೆಯಲಿ ಸಿದ್ಧೇಶ್ವರ ದೇವರವುಪಹಾರ ದೇವಕಾರ್ಯ  
ನಿಮಿತ್ತಮಾಸ್ಥಾನಾಚಾರ್ಯ ಚಂದ್ರಭೂಷಣ ದೇವರು ಆ ಮಣಿ  
ಗುಂದಿಗೆಯ ಪ್ರ(ತಿ)ವರ್ಷದ ಬೊಮ್ಮನ ಹಳ್ಳಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಶ್ರೀಮದರಸ  
ರಲ್ಲಿ ಆ ಯೇಶ್ವರಭಟ್ಟರು ಹ
೭೫. ಡೆದ ಭೂಮಿಯೊಳಗೆ ಮರೆಯ ಬೊ.....ಮಾಡುವ ಗಡ್ಡೆಯ  
ಎರಡು ಹಸುಗೆಯ ವೊಂಭತ್ತು ಭಂಡಿ ಭತ್ತದ ಸ್ಥಳ ಆ ಬಳಿಯ  
ಹಕ್ಕುಲು ಅದಕ ನಾಲ್ಕು ಸೀಮೆ ಎಂತೆಂದಡೆ ಮೂಡಣಸೀಮೆ  
ಬೊಮ್ಮನಹಳ್ಳಿಯ ಕ.....ಮುಂ
೭೬. ದೊತ್ತಿ ಹಾದಿದಳದ ಎರಿ ಕೆಂಕಣಸೀಮೆ ಬೊಮ್ಮನಹಳ್ಳಿಯ ಬಡಗಲು  
.....ಹಳಂಗಡಿಯೆಂಬಂದ ಬಂಡಿದಾರಿ ಪಡುವಣಸೀಮೆ ಕರಿ  
ಯರಾಮಣನ ಹಕ್ಕುಲು ಬರುಹು || ಬಡಗಲು ಯಲ್ಲನಹಳ್ಳಿಯ  
ಹೊಲನಸೀಮೆ ಮೇರಲ ಕೆಂಕಲು
೭೭. ಸೀಮೆವೊಳಗೆ ಜಲವ್ರಿಕ್ಷಪಾಪಾಣತ್ರಿಣಕದಂಬಚತುರಾಪೂಟಗ.....  
ಆ ಕೆಯ್ಯ ಬಳಿಯ ಮನೆಯ ನಿವೇಶನದೊಳಗೆ ಹಿತ್ತಿಲವು ಮೂಡಲುಂ  
ಪಡುವಲುಂ ಅಯಿಗಯಿಯ ಗಲ್ಲು ಕೆಂಕಲುಂ ಬಡಗಲುಂ ಆ  
ಮನೆಯ
೭೮. ....ನಿಳ ಹೊಳಗಾಗಿ ಆವೊಂದು ಸ್ಥಳದ ಮನೆಯ ನಿವೇಶನಮಿ  
ತ್ತದಳಿಂ ಮನೆಯ ಕಾರಣನೆಲ್ಲ ಆಪ್ತೇಣಿ ಆಗಾಮಿಸಹಿತ ಸಮಸ್ತ  
ಬಳಸಹಿತ ಯಂತಿದಕ್ಕೆ ಆ ಇಶ್ವರ ಭಟ್ಟೋವಾಧ್ಯಾಯರಿಗೆ ಆ ಚಂದ್ರ  
ಭೂಷಣ
೭೯. ದೇವರು ಪ್ರಿಯಶ್ರಿಯಗದ್ಯಾಣ ಅಜುವತ್ತು ಹೊನ್ನಕೊಟ್ಟು ಕ್ರಯ  
ದಾನಮಾಗಿ ಕೊಂಡರು ಆ ಭೂಮಿಯನು ಮಾಜಕೊಂಬಲ್ಲಿ ಹತ್ತಿದ  
ಹೊಂನು ಕುಳಿಯಗ್ಗಂಣನುಂ ಹುಲುಗುಲ ಕಲ್ಲಣನುಂ ಕೊಟ್ಟು  
ಧರ್ಮವಂ ಮಾಡಿದರು || ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿಶ್ರೀ
೮೦. ಕಾದಂಬ ಚಕ್ರಿ ವೀರಭುಜಬಳ ವಜ್ರದೇವ ವರ್ಷದ ೨ನೆಯ ಧಾತು ಸಂವ  
ತ್ಸರದ ಶ್ರಾವಣಸುದ್ಧ ೫ ಗುರುವಾರದಂದು ಮಣಿಗುಂದಿಗೆಯ ಪ್ರಿತ್ತಿ  
ಮಂತ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣರು ಆ ಸ್ಥಳದ ಸಿದ್ಧೇಶ್ವರದಾಚಾರ್ಯ ಚಂದ್ರ  
ಭೂಷಣ
೮೧. ದೇವರಿಗೆ.....ಪರಿತಂದದ ಆ ಸಿದ್ಧೇಶ್ವರ ಗ್ರಾಮೇಶ್ವರ ದೇವರ  
ಸ್ಥಳದ ಕೆಯಿಮನೆಗಳಲುಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣವೃತ್ತಿವೋಪಾದಿಯ.....  
ಹಾರಣ್ಣ .....ನಾನುದುವಂ ಕೊಳವಂದು ಕೊಟ್ಟರೂಂ || ಆ  
ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣಪ್ರಿತ್ತಿವೋ

೨೨. ಪಾದಿಮಣಿಗುಂದಗೆನದ ಹಸುಗೆಯನಾಮದುವಂ ಆ ಚಂದ್ರಭೂಷಣ  
ದೇವರ ಜಸದೊಂದು ಆ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮಹೃಣಿಗೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟರೂ ಚೆ॥ ಆ ಮಣಿ  
ಗುಂದಗೆಯವುಗುರ ಮೂನೂರ್ವರು ಶ್ರೀಸಿದ್ಧೇಶ್ವರ ದೇವರಿಗೆ
೨೩. ಜೈತ್ರ.....ಪವಿತ್ರಕ್ಕೆ ಬೆಳೆಯ ಬಿಟ್ಟರು॥ ಆ ಮಣಿಗುಂದಗೆಯ ಆಯ  
ನೂಜನಾಲ್ವರು ಆ ಸಿದ್ಧೇಶ್ವರ ದೇವರಿಗೆ ಆಳಗಿಪ್ಪತ್ತಹಾಗವೊಂದು  
ಪವಿತ್ರಕ್ಕೆ ಹಾಗವೊಂದ ಬಿಟ್ಟರು ಆಳಾಗಿ ರಾಸಿಗೆ.....
೨೪. ....ತಂನ ಹಾಸಿಗೆ ಹಣವೊಂದ ಬಿಟ್ಟರು॥ ನಾನೂರ್ವರು ಆ  
ಸಿದ್ಧೇಶ್ವರ ದೇವರಿಗೆ ಎಲೆಯ ಹೇಳಿಗೆ ವೀಸವೊಂದ ಬಿಟ್ಟರು॥  
ಸುಂಕದಧಿಕಾರಿ ದೇವಯ್ಯ ಚಂದಯ್ಯಂಗಲು ಆ ಗ್ರಾಮೇಶ್ವರ  
ಸಿದ್ಧೇಶ್ವರ ದೇವರ
೨೫. ....ನಿಮೇಶನಗಳೊಳಗು ಅಂಗಡಿ ಗಾಣಕ್ಕೆ ಸುಂಕತಳ ಸೊಟಿಗೆ  
ಮಂನ್ನಣೆಯಂ ಮಾಡಿ ಬಿಟ್ಟರು॥ ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀಕಾದಂಬ ಚಕ್ರಿ ವೀರ  
ಭುಜಬಳ ವಜ್ರದೇವ (ವ)ರ್ಷದ ೨ನೆಯ ಧಾತು ಸಂವತ್ಸರ ಮಾರ್ಗ್ಗ  
ಶೀರ್ಷ ಶುದ್ಧ.....
೨೬. ೯.....ಯಮಸೆಟ್ಟಿ ತಂನಮಗ ಭೈರವನ ಬಂಡಿಯ ಹಿಡಿದಲ್ಲಿ  
ಆ ಭೈರವ ಮೃತನಾಗಲು ಶ್ರೀಸಿದ್ಧೇಶ್ವರ ದೇವರ ಮುಂದೆ ಆ ಭೈರ  
ವನ ಹೆಸರಲು ಭೈರವ ದೇವರ ಪ್ರತಿಷ್ಠೆ
೨೭. ಯಂ ಮಾಡಿ ಆ ಭೈರವ ದೇವರ ನಿತ್ಯ.....ಋಷಹಾರ ಆ ಸಿದ್ಧೇ  
ಶ್ವರಾಚಾರ್ಯ ಚಂದ್ರಭೂಷಣ ದೇವರು ಹೂಲಿಯ ಯಶ್ವರ  
ಭಟ್ಟರ ಕೈಯಿಂ
೨೮. ....ಗೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟಯದೈಯಗೆಯ್ಯದೊಳಗೆ ಕೆಳಗಣ ಹಸುಗೆಯೊಳಗೆ  
ಹಾಳೆಯ ಕೆಳಗೆ ಆ ಚಂದ್ರಭೂಷ (ಣ) ದೇವರ ಕೈಯಲು....
೨೯. ಯ.....ವೊಂದು॥.....ರಿಭ.....ಳಕ್ಕೆ ಲೊಕ್ಕೆಯಗದ್ಯಾಣ  
ಹತ್ತು ಮಣ (ಭ)ಟ್ಟ ಕ್ರಯನಾಗಿಕ್ಕೊಂಡು ಭೈರವ ದೇವ ಆ  
ಕೊಟ್ಟನು॥

### Translation

1. An obeisance to God Śiva. A bow to Sambhu whose lofty head is beautiful on account of the chowry like moon and who is the prime-pillar to the beginning of the city of the three worlds.

2-4. Hail! While glorious Tribhuvanamalla-deva was ruling his victorious kingdom with its increasing prosperity till the sun and the moon endure,—Tribhuvanamalladeva—the asylum of all the universe, the lord of the earth, the great lord of lords, the supreme lord, the great

holy, the ornament of the race of Satyāśraya and the ornament of the Chālukyas.

4-6. Containing many great and bright charitable persons praised by many in different ways, containing penance forests of great fame, containing brave warriors shattering the pride of the mountain kings (Malavari bhūparam darpamurod-ikkuva) the country of Palasuge is beautiful like the desire-yielding tree.

6-7. That country was ruled over by many kings having conquered the worst enemies of his earth. Were these kings ordinary ones?

7-8. In that such dynasty : Lord Kāvadeva was killing the enemy kings, was protecting the terror-stricken when they fell at his feet. . . .  
Sivachitta Vira Permādi was adorable to the earth. . . .

9. His brother, famous on earth, of pure conduct was Vijayadēva. What king on earth equals him?

10. His son was king Jayakēśi praised on the earth. He bore the earth on his right arm. It was not so protected by any king in former times.

11. That king thus ruling the earth by the power of his right arm, protecting the enemy kings, who submit him, conquering the enemies who opposed him by their pride of valour and was ruling (peacefully) in entertainments of happy conversations, the King, who had obtained favour of God . . . the emperor of Koṅkaṇa (Koṅkaṇa Chakravartī), praised by the devotees of Hara, the emperor on the throne of renunciation (tyāga-simhāsana chakravartī), etc., the titles which he obtained.

13-15. And—Like the adamant to God Indra, like . . . to Akalanka Rāma, like the great lustrous eye to the lord of Girijā (Pārvati), like Pārtha (Arjuna) to King Pāṇḍu, like Karṇa to the Sun God. He great, Vijradēva, the great meritorious, was born to king Jayakēśi, who had conquered the earth.

15. And in Hulambi seventy in the country of the holy Ksatreya . . .

15-17. Manigundage was always beautiful excelling . . . on the earth with its flower lakes fed by mountain springs satisfying the eye, combined with the groves of trees bearing fruits and flowers, flowing canals and immeasurably vast forests.

17. The line of ascetics, the holders of all . . . was thus :—

18-19. Śivaśakti shone forth to the eye like a desire-yielding tree to the seekers of shelter in him. He was living there with a pomp which said, " O Madana, (God of love) conceal your pride, don't be proud of your indiscretion henceforth . . . . "

19-20. This great ascetic Śivaśakti the ornament to the earth, the emperor of religion, the enemy to the pride of Smara (The God of love), versed in all the lores, the beautiful (moon) . . . . to the ocean of good conduct . . . .

21-22. The son of this great sage, praised by the words at his lotus feet, possessing all greatness, possessing all pomp, with his firm mind and pure actions, possessing . . . . next world, possessing virtues, was praised by the people on earth . . . .

23. Who will equal him in prowess and pomp? . . . .

24. The great sage, . . . , having attained in penance in the vicinity of that great sage, having defeated Kantu (the God of love) . . . .

25-26. To Chandrabhūṣaṇa the best among sages, who was the desire-yielding tree resorted to the earth, whose auspiciousness, religious observances, and maintenance was praised by ascetics, and who was praised by men and Gods along with the lord of Girijā (Parvati) . . . .

26. . . . .

26-27. . . . .

28-29. When that great sage Chandrabhūṣaṇa was asking God for his eternal happy sleep after doing his duty and becoming famous . . .

30. The merchants of the place assembling spoke, "To select a man to own the holy throne and also the wealth we must give a garland of flowers in the trunk of an elephant. The man round whose neck the garland is put by the elephant will be his successor." The sage resented this . . .

31-32. The Ṣeṭṭis of four towns, . . . . and from the Patils, the devotees, Kāvaṇaṣeṭṭi, the son of . . . . ṣeṭṭi . . . . according to the promise 30 houses and hundred-fold . . . . Koyalidas with great joy.

33. A bee in the lotus of the feet of Hara, from the store of virtues and firm lustre he was styled the incarnation of merits, the man of pure conduct . . . . was famous.

34. These and the gardeners . . . . having united out of respect (for the sage) gave him thinking that he was equal in beauty to God of love, an invitation with great pomp.

35-36. How great are the three hundred people of Ugūra? Having obtained . . . . they do . . . . Having found the underlying principle of giving honour to the worthy . . . . they go to the end of this vow.

36-37. They worship the pair of feet of Ugurēśvara out of devotion. The three hundred of Ugūra, the resort of innumerable virtues are depicted . . . .

37-40. They are famous on the face of this earth with the pride of beauty of lusty Ananja (God of Love), with their good conduct and truthfulness, with their charitable deeds done enthusiastically, with their great prowess . . . . and noble on account of many reasons . . . .

41-43. . . . .

43-44. The noble minded Chāvunḍa Gāmunḍa is praised by the people on earth on account of his great lustre, his mode of speech and action, fame for his good conduct, his valour, . . . . , purity attained in looking to the welfare of others.

45. Thus all these devotees . . . . in the houses of merchants throwing into the background the audience all at the order of Chandrabhūṣaṇadēva, . . . .

45-48. Hail ! On Wednesday the eighth day of the latter half of Pushya of the Cyclic year Dundubhi the 16th year of glorious Jayakēśidēva, Kaliyuga Samvatsara being 4289 for the reason of Uttarāyaṇa Samkramana Chāvunḍa Gāvunḍa having washed the feet of Chandrabhūṣaṇadēva, the preceptor of *Jayakēśi* of *Maṇigundage* the hero of the three worlds (*tri-bhuvana vira*), with the pouring of water granted six matters of land to the west of tamarind grove . . . .

48-50. And on the full-moon-day of Falguṇa of the cyclic year Rudhīroḍgari the hundred people of Maṇigundage having washed the feet of that Chandrabhūṣaṇadēva granted all the money . . . . with the usual pouring of water for the holiday of Chaitra.

50-51. And the 504 people of Maṇigundage, having washed the feet of Chandrabhūṣaṇadēva granted with pouring of water all the money . . . . for the holiday of Chaitra.

51-52. The amount of his share and all his acquisitions in future were granted to Chandrabhūṣaṇadēva by Kāvaṇada Vināyaka with the pouring of water after washing his feet.

52-53. And the three hundred people of Mugada granted *hoga* to Chandrabhūṣaṇadēva, etc., for the holy (pavitra) holiday.

53-54. And the three hundred people of Huppovadayavugara granted *hoga* to Chandrabhūṣaṇa, etc.

54. And the three hundred people of Nuggiyahalli granted *hoga* to Chandrabhūṣaṇadēva, etc.

55. And the three hundred people of Satti granted *hoga* for the holy holiday to Chandrabhūṣaṇadēva, etc.

56. And the three hundred people of Nīrusāgara granted *hoga*, etc.

57-58. Thus the people of other villages having come to see the celebrations of the holiday, having seen it, and having eaten the food-favour of the dirty—, the leaders in the seventy villages granted hoga for the welfare of their house, line and living.

58-60. The thousand people . . . . from nand-gopa, Sonnaligeyapura, Vijayāpura, etc., having come to see the holy holiday and being happy at the sight of the observance promised the yearly grant of a *Visa* per *hera* (i.e. one gunny bag of 32 seers of corn), a visa on every animal load, to Chandrabhūṣaṇadēva having washed his feet and pouring water.

61. And the oilmen guild of Maṇigundage granted to Chandrabhūṣaṇadēva with the pouring of water one tablespoonful of oil for each oil-mill operation and one tablespoonful of oil for a *hād* to be sold by the outsiders (here).

62. Know with delight the three hundred as the protectors of the seeker of shelter, the bees at the lotuses in the form of the feet of Hara and Hari, and the matchless heroes on the earth.

63. For the (observance of the) holiday in Chaitra one part, for the (observance of the) holy parva (holiday) so many parts, and a part to Śēkalī were granted to Chandrabhūṣaṇadēva with the pouring of water—having washed his feet.

64-65. And the hero Binnaya nāyaka the humble setti of Maṇigundage granted to Chandrabhūṣaṇadēva, having washed his feet, with the pouring of water of a piece of land . . . . Kambas in area, beyond the tamarind tree, adjoining the lake near his grant land.

65. Hail! On Monday the 13th day of Śrāvaṇa the dark fortnight Prajāpati Samvatsara the 36th year of the glorious Vīra-Jayakēśi of the glorious Kādamba race when 4296 years of the Kaliyuga had passed.

66. Narasimha Paṭṭavardhana obtained from Kālā-mahādevī at the time of her observance of a religious vow . . . . a paddy land bringing in an income of four cart-loads of paddy, below the lake of Kuruḍa of Maṇigundage.

67-68. This land was brought of his four sons Mahadēvapa his brother, his brother Tikayya, and his brother Vishṇudēva, by Āchayya and Tippaya the sons of Bommaya Joshi of Maṇigundage.

68-69. Tippave the wife of Tippayya renounced her claim in favour of her brother-in-law Āchayya for the debt her husband had incurred into.

69-70. The boundaries of this land: To the east the road of Huppuvallī, to the north the road to Huppuvallī; to the south tableland to the north Araliya-godde; to the west the rising ground of K<sub>u</sub>ru<sub>u</sub>danakola (lake).

71-72. That Achaya, having received from Chandrabhūshanadeva the worshipper of the glorious Grāmēśvara God of Manigundage, a sum of Lokkiya priyasraheya gadyana 52, granted to purchase gift to Grames-varadeva the land within these four boundaries, and the house of two cubits (?) outside the house of Aluga with the present and future incomes and also with all the increase.

72-73. Hail ! On Vaḍḍavāra the fifth day of the dark half of Magha Bhāva Samvatsara the 39th year of the glorious Vira-Jayakēśideva of the glorious Kadamba race when 4299 of Kaliyuga had passed.

74-76. From the land obtained by Īśvarabhatta from the prosperous king of Bommanhalli, the land bringing in an income of nine cart-loads of paddy the two parts of . . . . and the fallow land near it, its boundaries to the east the road adjoining the village Bommanhalli and the rising ground adjacent to it, to the south the brook to the north of Bommanhalli and the cart road coming from the boundary ; the western boundary the fallow land of Kariya Ramanna and to the north the land of Yallana-halli its southern boundary . . . .

77. In the boundary of the house near that land the back yard marked by boundary stones on the east and west, to the south and north.

78-79. Chandrabhūshanadeva having paid a sum of Priyaśriya Gadyāna purchased of Īśvara-bhatt-opādhyāya the house and the land with the present and future income and also all its accompaniments. The purchase money was advanced out of charity by Kuriyaggana, and Hulugula Kallamma.

80. On Thursday the 5th day of the first fortnight of Śrāvana Dhātu Samvatsara the second year of Vajradēva of the glorious Kādamba race.

80-81. The Brahmans of Manigundage, who had the right of maintenance granted a tank of the name of . . . Hāranya . . . . to increase the income of that Siddhēśvara grāmadeva like the maintenance of the Brahmans, to Chandrabhūshanadeva the preceptor of Siddhēśvara of that place.

82. Like the maintenance of the Brahmans, the right of a share in the income was granted to the Brahmans taking it to be the right of Chandra-bhūshanadeva. And the three hundred people of Manigundage granted the crop for the observance of the Chaitra performance of the glorious Siddhēśvara God.

83. The five hundred and four granted to Siddhēśvara one hāga for each group of twenty and one hāga for a holy observance ; and granted one hana . . . .

84. The four hundred granted the right of one Visa on every heru of betel-leaves. Devayya and Chandayya.

### Māṅguṇḍi Inscription of Jayakēśi III

Inscription originally from Māṅguṇḍi, Dharwar Taluqua, now lying in the Museum of the Karnatak College, Dharwar. Deciphered by Prof. K. G. Kundangar.

#### Text

೧. ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀಜಯಾಭ್ಯುದಯಶ್ಚ || ಶ್ರೀಸುದತೀವಿಭುವಿಭವನಿವಾಸ.....  
ವಸ್ತು.....ಣ.....
೨. ....ಳ ಸೌಖ್ಯೋದ್ಭವಿ ಪರಿಪಾಲನಿ ಜನಶಾಸನಮಂ ಪಾರ್ಶ್ವನಾ  
ಥಾಬಾ.....
೩. ಕಾಮೆಯಗಣಶ್ರೀಮಂಡನಂ ಧಾತತೋರ್ಬಿ.....
೪. ನಮ್ನಭಿಭೂತೃಳ ಪ್ರಾಳೇಯಾಂಶುನಿಭಂಗೆ ಬಾಹುಬಲಿ.....
೫. ನನೊಲ್ಪಭೀಷ್ಟಫಲಮಂ ಚಂದ್ರಾರ್ಕೃತಾರಂಬರಂ.....ಸಮ.....
೬. ಭಿ ಕುಂಭೀನಸ ಮಕರಕರಾಪಗತ ಸಂಫಂನ್ನ ಮೀನ ಭ್ರಮ.....
೭. ರಳವೀಚೇಚಯಂ ನೀಳ್ವ ಮಹದ್ವರ್ಮನೈಯ್ದತ್ತಿಂಬಿನಂ ಬಳುವಳನೆ  
ಸಕಳ ದಿಕುಚಕ್ರಮ.....ಪರ್ವಿ ಪೆಂಪಿಂದಮೆ ಜಂ
೮. ಬೂದ್ವೀಪಮಂ ಸುತ್ತಿದುದು ಬಹಳ ನಿರ್ಘೋಷಮಾದ್ರ್ಯಂ ಸಮುದ್ರಂ ||  
ಸಕಳೋರ್ಬಿನುತ ತತ್ಪಯೋ
೯. ಧಿವ್ಯತ ಜಂಬೂದ್ವೀಪ ಭೂಪೇಂದ್ರರುಂದ್ರಕನತ್ಯಾಂಜನ ಮಾಳೆಯಂ  
ತೆಸೆದು ತೋರ್ಕುಂ ಮೇರುವಾ ಭೂ
೧೦. ಧರಾಂತಕದಿಗುಭಾಗದೊಳೊಪ್ಪಿ ತೋರ್ಪು ಭರತ ಶ್ರೀಲೀಲೆಗಾಲೋಲ  
ಮಸ್ತಕ ಮಾಣಿಕ್ಯ ಸುಕುಂತ
೧೧. ಲಂಬೋಲೆಸಿದಿಕ್ಕುಂ ಕುಂತಳೋರ್ಬೀತಳಂ || ಜನತಾಸುಖನಿಲಯಂ  
ತಜ್ಜನಪದದೊಳುತೋರ್ಕ್ಕು ನೆಗಟ್ಟ ಪಲಸಿಗೆ
೧೨. ದೇಶಂ ವನಜವಿಳಾಸಂನಿಲಯಂ ಗ್ರಾಮನಗರ ಖರ್ಬುಡ ಮಡಂಬ  
ಪಟ್ಟಣ ನಿಜಯಜಂ || ವ || ಅನೈಸೆದಿದ್ದ ಪಲಸಿಗೆಯದೇಶ ಮಂ
೧೩. ಡಳಕ್ಕೆ ಮಣಿಮಂಡನದಂತಿದ್ದೆಸೆವುತ್ತಿರ್ಪು ಮಣಿಗುಂಡಗೆಯೆಂಬ ಪಟ್ಟಣ  
.....ಂತೆಂದೊಡೆ || ಹರಿನೀ.....ಜಾ.....
೧೪. ಕಾಳಕೆ ಜಳಜಗವಾಕ್ಪಾಪ್ಪೆ ಚಂಚತುಪತಾಕಾಕರೆ ಪ್ರೋಕ್ಷೋತುಂಗ  
ಚೈತ್ಯಾಲಯ.....ಶುಭ.....ತೇಂ

೧೫. ದೀವರ ಕರ್ಣಾವತಂಸೆಯುತೋರಣಪರಿಬಲಿತಾದರ್ಶಬಿಂಬಾಸ್ಯೆ  
ಪೋಲ್ವೀ ಪರಿಪಾಂಬು.....ಕುಂ
೧೬. ತತ್ಪುರೀಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀ ಚೆಲ್ವಂ || ಎನಿಸುಂ ತತುಪುರವೀಧಿಯೊಳು ಸುಳವ  
ಸುಂಡಾಳ ಬ್ರಜಸ.....ಕೃ
೧೭. ವಿಕೀರ್ಯಮಾಣತನು ಚಂಚಚ್ಚಾಯೆಗಳು ಚಿತ್ರಭಾನೆಯಿಂದಂ ಪ್ರತಿ  
ಬಿಂಬಿಸುತ್ತಿರೆ ನಯ.....ರಯ್ಯೆ ತಾ
೧೮. ತೋಕ್ಕುರ್ನು ನಿಕ್ಕೇತನ ಮಾಳಾಸ್ಥಟಿಕೋಪಳೋಜ್ಜಳಲಸತುಕುಟ್ಟಿ  
ಪ್ರದೇಶಂಗಳೊಳೂ || ಲಯ.....ಪ
೧೯. ಯವನವಿಳಾಸಿನೀ ಭಕ್ತು(ಟಿ)ಕರಾಸನೇಕ್ಷಣ ಬಾಣಂಗಳನಾಪುರದೊಳ  
.....ಸು
೨೦. ಭನನಂಗಂ || ಆನಗರಂ ಲಾವಣ್ಯ ಶ್ರೀನಿಳಯಮದಂ ಫಣೀಂದ್ರನುಂ  
ನೆಜಿದಾಗಳ ಲ.....ಮು.....ನೆ.....ರೊಂ
೨೧. ದಿನ್ನಾಲಗೆಯಂಕಂ || ವ || ಅನ್ನು ಸಕಳಗುಣರತ್ನೋತ್ಕರಕ್ಕೆ ರತ್ನಾಕರಮುಂ  
ವಸುಂಧರಾ.....ದ.....ಳಜನ
೨೨. ಕುವಳಯಕ್ಕೆ ಚಂದ್ರಿಕೆಯು ಮೆನಿಸಿದ ತತ್ಪುರಶ್ರೀಗಧಿರಾಜಂ || ಸದಯಂ  
ಶ್ರೀನೃಪಮೌಳಿ ಕೀಳಿತಮುಡಿ.....ಚೈತಾಂಛಿ
೨೩. ದಶಾಶಾವರಿವರ್ತಿಕ್ರೀಡಲತಿಕಾಲಾಸ್ಯಕಶೋಭಾನ್ವಿತಂ ಮದನದ್ವೈರಿ  
ನೃಪಾಳ ಕಾಳಕುಳಕಂ ಕೃಷ್ಣಾತವೀರ.....ದದೋರ್ಧ್ವಂಧನ
೨೪. ತಿಪ್ರಚಂಡನೆ(ಸ)ದಂ ಪೆರ್ಮಾಡಿ ಭೂಮೀಶ್ವರಂ || ಭ್ರಮದಾಕಾಶಂ  
ಕೋಪಭ್ರಜಿತ ಶಿಖರಿನಿಭಾ.....
೨೫. ....ಸರಪರ ಬೃಹನ್ನಕ್ಷಚಕ್ರಪ್ರಕೀರ್ಣಾಬ್ಜಮಹಾರ್ಜಯಾರ್ವಹಂ ಕುಂ  
ಭಜಕರ ಚುಳುಕಾ.....ವಾತ್ಸರಮ ಮಹೀಶೋ
೨೬. ಚುಳುಕಮೆನಿಸಿದತ್ತನೈ ಸೇನಾಸಮುದ್ರಂ || ತದನುಜಂ || ವರಾ.....  
ನೃಪಾಳಭೂಮಿವನಿತಾ
೨೭. ....ತದ್ವೀರಶ್ರಿಯನಜೇಯ ಬಾಹು (ಪಂಜ)ರದೊಳು ತಂದಿಟ್ಟ  
ಸದ್ವಸ್ತುವಂ.....ರಾನ.....ಸಮಸ್ತವಸ್ತುಸಹಿತಂ .....  
ಯುಮಂ ಕು
೨೮. ....ರಾಚಾರನೆ ತಾನೆ ವೀರವಿಜಯಕೃಪಂ ಚಿತ್ರವೀಧಾತ್ರಿಯೊಳು ||  
.....ವಕ್ಕೆ ವಣ.....
೨೯. ಯಾಡುಪಾಟದೆ ರಾಹುನುಂಗಿಕೊಕ್ಕುರಿಸುಗುಳ್ಳಿದಿಂದೊಜೆಯ ತೆತ್ತಿ  
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೩೦. ಯ ನಿಜರಮನೋಳಂದುವಂ ದೊರೆಯೆನುತಿರ್ಪುದಿಂದುನಗುಗುಂ ಜಸ  
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೩೧. ಮನಾಕ್ರಮಿಸಿ ಬೀರಸಿಂಹಯಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಿಗೇಹಜಯಕೇಶಿ ದೇವನ ಬಾಹು  
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೩೨. ಪತಿಪರಿಪಾಲಿತ ಭೂಮಿಭಾಗದೊಳು ಸೊಗಯಿಸುಗುಂ ಸುರಪತಿಯ  
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೩೩. ಪುರಂ || ಆ ಪುರದ ಛೈತ್ಯಭವನದಾಚಾರ್ಯವಳಿಯೆಂತೆಂದೊಡೆ || ಪ್ರವಿ  
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೩೪. ಭಜ್ಯಾಯಬ್ಬುವನರಾಧ್ಯಮ್ಪೂಜಮಾರ್ಣವಪೂರ್ಣಶಶಂಕರೇಕ ವೀ  
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೩೫. ಘಂ ದಯಾಪಯೋಂಬುಧಿ ವೃತಸ್ಥಿರತಮಹೀಮಧ್ಯದೊಳು ಮನಂಗೊ  
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೩೯. ತನಯಂ ಬಾಪ್ತು ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯನೆ ವಿದ್ಯಾಯೋಷಿನ್ಮಂಡನಂ ಬಾಹುಬಲಿ  
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೪೦. ಕಂ ಶೀಳಜಳ ಪೂರ್ಣನಯ ವಿನಯಂ ಸಾಂದ್ರಶಾಖಾ ಸಹಶ್ರಂ ಮತಿ  
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೪೪. ನಾನಾರತಕ್ಕದೆಯಿಂ || ಆಮಾಣಿಕ್ಕಪುರಧರಿ ಭೋಗ ಪ್ರಭು || ಜಾಣಂ  
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೪೫. ತಿಪ್ಪಂ ಕೋಣಿಯೊಳು ತಿಪ್ಪ ಗೌಡಂ ಕಾಣುಗವಂ ಶಾಗ್ರಗಣ್ಣನನುಪಮ  
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೪೬. ಪುರುಷಾರ್ಥಮೆಸೆವ ನಾಲ್ಕುಂ ಸಮಯಂ ನಾಲ್ಕುಂಯುಗವರ್ತನೆಗಲ್ಪಾ  
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೪೮. ನೂತರ್ಪರಹಿತ ಮತಿಗಳ್ಳಾಣಕ್ಕು ಪುರದನೆಮ್ಮೆಯ ನಗರಂ || ಮಣಿ  
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೪೯. ಜಸದಿಂ ಗುಣದಿಂ ಪುಣ್ಯದಿನೆಸೆವುದು ಮೋಹಣಗಿರಿ ಮಣಿಮಾಲೆಯನೆಸೆವ  
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೫೦. ಸ್ತುತಿ ಕಲಿಯುಗಸಂವತ್ಸರಂ ೪೨೮೮ ಸಂದಂದಾದಿಯಾಗಿ ಶ್ರೀಕಾಡಂಬ  
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೫೧. ನೆಯ ಯುವಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಚೈತ್ರಬಹುಳ ೭ ಸೋಮವಾರದಂದು ಜಯ  
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೫೬. ದಗೆ ಪರಭೋಗದ ಪ್ರಭು ತಿಪ್ಪಗಾವುಂಡನುಂ ಮಸಣಿಸೆಟ್ಟಿಯ ಸಾತ  
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೫೭. ಮುಖ್ಯವಾಗಿ ಯೆಲ್ಲಾಭವ್ಯಜನಂಗಳು ಆಯೀಶ್ವರಪಟ್ಟವರ್ಧನರುಮಂ  
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೫೯. ಡು ಶಕವರ್ಷಂ ೧೧೩೮ನೆಯ ಯುವಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಚೈತ್ರಬಹುಳ ೧೦  
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೬೦. ವೃತಿಸಾತಮುಂ ಕೂಡಿದ ಪುಣ್ಯತಥಿಯೊಳು ಆಮಣಿಗುಂದಗೆಯ ಮಗಿ  
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ಶ್ರೀಬಾಹುಬಲಿಸಿದ್ಧಾಂತಿದೇವರ ಕಾಲಂಕರ್ಷಿ ಧಾರಾ
೬೨. ಪೂರ್ವಕಂ ಮಾಡಿ ಸರ್ವನಮಸ್ಕಂ ಸರ್ವಬಾಧಾಪರಿಹಾರವಾಗಿ  
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೬೩. ಯ ಕ್ರಮವೆಂತೆಂದಡೆ ನವಿಲೂರಿಂದ ಹಳ್ಳಂಗೆಟ್ಟಿಗೆ ಹೋದ ಭಂಡಿದಾ  
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೬೬. ಗಿಳಂನೆಯ ಕುಪ್ಪರಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಕಾರ್ತಿಕಶುದ್ಧಾಷ್ಟಮಿ ಗುರುವಾರ  
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೭೦. ಪದ ಫನೆಯ ವಿಷುಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ದ್ವಿತೀಯ ವೈಕಾಖ ಶು ೧ ವಡ್ಡವಾರ  
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೭೧. ಚೈದಾನಂದ ಸ್ವಾಮಿಗಳು ನಾರಾಯಣಭಟ್ಟಾಹಧಾಯರು ಕೇಶವಕೂಜಿ  
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೭೫. ಡಿ ೯ ಗ್ರಾಮೇಶ್ವರದ ಗದ್ದೆ ಖಂಡಿ ೪ ಬೊಡಗೇಶ್ವರದ ಗದ್ದೆ ಖಂಡಿ ೩  
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೭೬. ಡಿ ೧೯ಕ್ಕುಂ ಹದಿಕೆ ಹಾರಣಿ ಮೊದಲಾಗಿದ್ದುವಕ್ಕೆ ಸರ್ವಾಭಾರಪರಿಹಾರ  
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೭೯. ದು ಸೂರ್ಯಗ್ರಹಣಮುಂಕೂಡಿದ ಪುಣ್ಯತಿಥಿಯೊಳು ತಡಕೋಡಸೊಣ  
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೮೦. ಸೆಟ್ಟಿ ಹಳಂಗೆಳೆಯ ರಾಮಿಸೆಟ್ಟಿ ನಿರುಸಾಗರದ ಸೋಮಿಸೆಟ್ಟಿ ಕಲ್ಲಿಸೆಟ್ಟಿ  
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ಮಣಿಗುಂದಗೆಯ ..... ಭೋಗದಪ್ರಭು ಕಾಣೆರ.....
೮೪. ....ವಟ್ಟಿ.....ಯ ನಗರಜನಾಲಯಕ್ಕೆ ತಂಮ್ಮ ಕೆಯ್ಯೊಳಗೆ  
ಮೂಡಣತೆಂಕಣ .....ನೊಳು ಒಂದು ಮತ್ತರು ಹಕ್ಕುಲ ಬಿಟ್ಟರು....
೮೫. ....ಮುಂದಾಗಿ ನಿರುಸಾಗರಕ್ಕೆ ಹೋದ ಓಣಿಯಿಂ ಪಡುವಲು  
ಹೊಲಗೆಯಿಂ ಪಡುವಣಮಗಿ ಕಣಗಿಲೆಹಳ್ಳಿ.....
೮೬. ದ ಓಣಿಯಿಂ ಬಡಗಲು ಹೊಲಬನ ಹುಣಸಿಯಿಂ ಮೂಡಲು ಆಚೌಂಡ  
ಗೊಂಡನುಡುಸೀಮೆಯೊಳಕ್ಕೆದ ಗುಡ್ಡೆಯಿಂ ತೆಂಕಲು || ಸ್ವದತ್ತಾಂ
೮೭. ಪರದತ್ತಾಂವಾ ಯೊಹರಿತ ವಸುಂಧರಾಂ ಪಶ್ಚಿಮರ್ವಸಹಸ್ರಾಣಿ ವಿಷ್ಣು  
ಯಾಂ ಜಾಯತೆ ಶ್ರೀಮೀ ||

### Translation

1-5. Hail! Victory and prosperity! May Pārśvanāthā give us the desired objects as long as the sun, the moon, and the stars endure. . . .

5-8. The ocean with its great roar, with its waves caused on account of the whirling fish escaping from the clutches of crocodiles and serpents, encircled with great pomp Jambūdwīpa spreading over all the quarters as if it attained great religious merits.

8-11. The country of Kuntala is shining like the waving hair of Bharata Laxmi beautified by crest jewel shining near the Mēru mountain, and appears beautiful like the gold necklace of the kings of Jambūdwīpa encircled by the ocean, praised by the people on earth.

11-12. The famous Palasige province, the house of happiness to the people, is seen, with its cities, towns, villages and hamlets like the dallying lotus.

12-13. The city of Manigundage, beautiful like the crest jewel to the circle of this famous Palasige country, was thus pompous :

13-15. The goddess of that town had for her hair the walls of lapis lazuli, had for her eyes the lotus-like windows, had for her upper garment the fluttering banners, . . . . the Jain temples, had for her ear ornament the blue lotus-like . . . . had for her round face the reflection in the ditch (surrounding the fort wall) . . . .

16-18. The reflections of herds elephants moving in the streets of that city in the brightly polished marbles of the walls of rows of houses appeared like the painted elephants.

19-20. . . . . The God of love was happy in that city on account of the arrows of eyes on the bows of eyebrows of Yavana ladies . . . .

20-21. That city is the abode of the Goddess of beauty. Its description is impossible even for Śēsha (the serpent lord) with his many tongues ; what can people do with their one tongue ?

21-22. The lord of the city, the ocean to jewels with best characteristics . . . . earth, and the moonlight to the night-lotus.

22-24. The brave king Permādi, whose feet were worshipped by water of rays proceeding from the jewels set in the crowns of kings, who was beautiful on account of the dancing creeper of his fame in all the ten quarters, who was like the black cobra to the proud inimical kings, who was famous for the valour of his arms and who was very kind, shone forth.

24-26. To him the ocean of the army of the enemy appeared like the sea-water in the cavity of hands of Agastya born in a pitcher, which was wonderful like the ocean whose water was scattered by the wheel (of Vishnu) when killing the great crocodile . . . .

His brother,

26-28. It is wonder in this world that he alone is the hero, the sun to victory, who kept safe in the cage of his arms the lady earth of the enemy kings, and the goddess of heroism . . . .

28-30. The Lady Fame of Jayakēśi is laughing with a remark that can that Moon be equal to me? For, he is first swallowed by Rāhu, then disgorged by him in a cough and then he is worn on the head by God Śankara. So he is a coward . . . .

30-31. The goddess of heroism, having subdued the multitude of kings surrounded on the field of battle, restored to the post of the arm of Jayakēśi the abode of the Goddess of Victory.

31-32. Mānikyapura is shining in the country protected by the brave king Jayakēśi, and is superior to the best of cities of Indra (Surapati).

33. The genealogy of the preceptors of the Jaina temple of the city :

33-34. Ekaviryāchāryar is meritorious, very learned, belongs to Yāpanīya Saṅgha, is worshipped by the world and is the moon to the ocean of wonder-working power. His son,

34-37. Is it necessary to praise . . . . the best among sages, who is the very ocean of kindness, who is firm in his religious observances, . . . . His disciple.

37-39. Is Bāhubali the best among ascetics, the lord of religious observances an ordinary man? Bāhubali—the mirror to the line of the famous Yāpanīya (Saṅgha), . . . , the saffron mark to the Kāmeya Gaṇa, the powerful arm in the matter of protection of religion, and the ornament to the Lady of Learning.

39-42. The great sage Bāhubali-siddha-saiddhāntik-ānta is the first among the religious observers, he is modest, he has thousands of thickly set branches, his knowledge is the foliage, he is a man of good conduct, . . . . , he is prosperous, his wealth is his fame, . . . .

42-44. The earth is the flower lake, the moonlight and sunshine are the water . . . . , people are the aquatic beings, . . . .

The local lord of that Mānikyapura country :

44-45. Tippogonda the foremost in the Kāṇuga line is wise, learned, . . . . and of incomparable merit.

45-46. The four cities in the Palasige country are shining like the four Purushārthas in the four oceans; the four Samayas, and the four Yugas.

47. The towns there are such :

47-48. The pomp of the city of Mānikyapura lies in its people engaged in giving four kinds of alms, well behaved, praised by the three jems, intent on the welfare of others.

48-49. Maṇigunḍage with its thousands of jewels, with its fame spreading to the ends of the four quarters, with its virtues and merits, is shining on earth like the Mōhaṇa mountain with its wreath of jewels.

50-62. Hail ! From the twelve . . . . paddy land at Maṇigunḍage of Īśvara Paṭṭavardhana of Hūli, who obtained it of Jayakēśi on Monday the 7th day of the dark half of Chaitra in Yuva Saṁvatsara the 9th year of the prosperous (reign of) Śivachitta Jayakēśideva when 4288 years of Kaliyuga had passed Tippagavunḍa the local lord (Patil) of Maṇigunḍage, Sātayya Masaṇiṣeṭṭi, Chinnageika Kēṭaseṭṭi, and all the worldly people having got consent of that Īśvara Paṭṭavardhana and his son Nāra (yaṇa) dēva, and having purchased of them at a cost of 1205 Lokkiya priyaśrāha Gadyāṇa the land of the Khandis at the south western corner of Bammonahalli, Paṅgarige . . . . with its ownership of every kind, and the house 14 cubits length in its neighbourhood bounded by the backyard of the house of Chaṇḍaṇa on the west, on the boundary on the west . . . . on the north, granted free of taxation, with all obeisance and with the pouring of water to prosperous Bāhubali Siddhāntidēva having washed his feet for the . . . . sorts of worship, for the partial repairs and for the purpose of giving food to ascetics on the auspicious day of the conjunction of Sankrānti and Vyatipāta Thursday the 10th of the dark fortnight of Chaitra Yuva Saṁvatsara of the Śaka era 1138.

63-65. The boundaries of the land :—

From Navalūru the brook, with the lake of Innaseṭṭi to the south of cart track going to the tank, the plain of Sūli with the tank on the west from the rising ground on the east of that land, and with the meadow of the land of Paḷlāra Dēvaṇṇa on the north of the land which is to the west of the rising ground on the east.

66-69. Hail ! On Thursday the 8th day of the bright fortnight of Kārtika, Īśvara Saṁvatsara the 1140 the year of the Śaka era at the time of the meritorious story telling of Nandīśvara-parva the citizens of the four cities and Bhāviṣeṭṭi of Maṇigunḍage Doṇiya Bammaseṭṭi, Kotiseṭṭi, Lakshmiṣeṭṭi and Kēmmiseṭṭi and chiefly the Thousand granted . . . . Visas on every load (hēru) of leaves to the Jain temple of the city within the boundary of that place.

69-76. Hail ! On Vaḍḍavāra (Monday) the first day of the bright half of Vaiśākha, Viśhu Saṁvatsara the 9th year of prosperous Kadamba Śivachitta Vira Vajra-dēva, the holders of Vritti land of Maṇigunḍage

Sachchidānanda-swāmi, Nārāyana-bhaṭṭa Avadhāni, Kēsava Kūji, Narasimhabhaṭṭa, Kuru . . . . ra Lakshayya, Vāsudēva Upadhyaya the son of Sevaṇṇū Mailārabhaṭṭa, Paduvayya of Muruga, Dēvaṇabhaṭṭa of Hagaratage, the chief among all the Vṛitti holders, with the idea that he should not walk on foot for fear of sin to be incurred in that, after the Pārane according to the rituals of Brahmins, having accepted (purchased) the feet worship of one Honna, granted free of tax 9 Khaṇḍi paddy land of Siddhēśvara, 4 khaṇḍi land of Gramēśvara, 3 Khaṇḍi land of Bhōjagēśvara, and 3 Khaṇḍi land of the city Jinālaya, in all 19 Khaṇḍis of land under cultivation.

78-81. Hail! On the auspicious day of the solar eclipse falling on Sunday the new moon day of Vaiśākha, Vishu Samvatsara the 9th year of prosperous Kadamba Śivachitta Vira Vajradēva, the fifty families of Maṇigunḍage Taḍkoda Sōisetṭi, Ummachiyea Sēnisetṭi, Haddala Kallisetṭi, Halamgereya Rāmisetṭi, Sōmisetṭi and Kallisetṭi of Nūrusāgara, chiefly these people granted spoon of oil to the Jain temple of that place.

82-84. Hail! On the auspicious day of the conjunction of Uttarayāna Samkrānti. . . . day in the dark half of Pushya Dundubhi Samvatsara, the 16th year of prosperous Kadamba Śivachitta Virajayakēśidēva when 4288 years of Kaliyūga had passed, the local lord (Patil) . . . . Kāpura . . . . of Maṇigunḍage granted one mattar of meadow in the south eastern corner of his land to the city Jain temple.

85-86. The boundaries of this land : To the south of the mound on the long boundary of Chuṇḍa gaunḍa to the east of the tamarind trees of Holaba, to the north of the lane going to the village of Kaṇagile on the western boundary, and to the west of the lane going to Nūrusāgara.

87. Whoever takes away the grant made by himself or another is born a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years.

## No. 7

### Hallihāla Inscription of Chatṭa

The inscription is from Hallihāla, in the Dharwar District. Deciphered by Mr. S. M. Karajgi and translated by Prof. K. G. Kundangar.

#### Text

೧. ನಮಶ್ಚಕ್ರಿಯುಕ್ತಾಯ ಶಿವಾಯ ಶಿವಲಬ್ಧಯೇ ।

೨. ಗಣೇಶಾಯನಮಸ್ತುರ್ವೇ ಶರ್ವಕರ್ಮಣಿಸಿದ್ಧಯೇ ॥ ಸ್ತುತಿಸಮಸ್ತಭುವ  
ನಾತ್ರಯ ಪ್ರಧ್ವೀವಲ್ಲಭಮಹಾರಾಜಾಧಿರಾಜ ಪರಮಭಟ್ಟಾರಕಂ

ಸತ್ಯಾಶ್ರಯಕುಳತಿಳಕಂ ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯಾಭರಣಂ ಶ್ರೀಮಜ್ಜಗದೇಕಮಲ್ಲ  
ಜಯಸಿಂಹದೇವರ ವಿಜಯರಾಜ್ಯದೊಳ್ | ಮಹಾಮಣ್ಣಿಳಶ್ವರಂ  
ವೈರಮದಕೇಸರಿಪುಕುಳಜರಾಂಕುಶಂ |

೩. ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ಕುಂಧರಾಜಂಬನವಾಸಿಪನ್ನಿಚ್ಯಾಸಿರಮುಮನಾಳುತ್ತಮಿದು || ವೃ ||  
ಮಿಗಲುಂ ಮೀರಲುಮಿತ್ತನಾಲ್ಲರಿ
೪. ಪು ಭೂಭೃಷ್ಟಶ್ರವಂ ವೀರವೃತ್ತಿಗೆ ಕೊಣ್ಣೋ (ಣ್ಣಾ ?) ಪದಮಂಡಳಶ್ವರ  
ಮಹಾಸಾಮನ್ತರೋತ್ತಾನೆ ಜಟ್ಟಿಗನಾದೊಂ
೫. ಜಸಮಾರ್ಪದಿಗ್ಗಜಪುದ ? ಪೂದಂ ? ಬರಂ ಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿಗೆ ಸರ್ವೋದ್ಧರ  
ಯಂ ನಿಮಿರ್ಚ ನೆಗಲ್ಲಂ ಶ್ರೀವೀರವಿದ್ಯಾಧರಂ
೬. ಎರಿಪಲ್ಕುಗ್ಗೇರಿ ಯಂಮುಂ ಮುನಿಯ ಮಸಕಮಂ ಮಲ್ಲಿಸಚ್ಚನೈಕುಚ್ಚೇ  
ಶ್ವರನಂ ಹಿಮ್ಮಾಡ್ರಿಯಂ ಪಾಯಿಸ (ಲ) (ಲಾ ?) ದ
೭. ರಿಸುವಂ ಚೋಳಚಾಳುಕ್ಯ ರಾಜ್ಯಸ್ಥಿರಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀರಕ್ಷಕಂ ಕೋಶಕುಳಕುಳಶಂ  
ಲಂಚಿಕಾಭಂಜನಂ ಗೂರ್ಜರವಜ್ರಂ ಚೋಳಕಾಳಾಶ
೮. ನಿ ಮಲಯಮಹೀಮರ್ಧನಂ ಕುಂಧರಾಜಂ || ಕಂ || ಕುಂಧನ ಕುಲಲಲನೆ  
ಜಗದ್ವಂದಿತೆ ಜಗಜ್ಜೆ ರೂಪವತಿ ಗುಣವತಿ ಪೂರ್ಣೇಂದು
೯. ಮುಖಿ (ಸನ್ತ) ಬಮ್ಮರಸನನನ್ನನೆವಿಭುರಾಜ (ಚ ?) ಮಲ್ಲನನುಸುತೆ ನೆ  
ಗಲ್ಲಳ್ || ವೃ || ನೆಟ್ಟನೆರೂಪ ವಿಭ್ರಮಕೆ ದಾನದ ಧರ್ಮದ ರೂಪಿಗುಂ
೧೦. ತೆ ಬಾಯ್ಪಿಟ್ಟನಿರಂತರಂ ಪದೇವ ಕಾನೈಯರಾವಧುಕೊಟ್ಟ ದಾನಮಂ  
ಕೊಟ್ಟರೊಪುಟ್ಟುವಂ ದೋಪನೆ ಪುಟ್ಟಿದರೋ ಸತಿಪಟ್ಟತೊಟ್ಟರೊಳ್  
ಪಟ್ಟ
೧೧. ರೊ ನೋಂತರೋ ನೆಗಲ್ತಾಣೋಗಲ ದೇವಿಯ ನೋಂತೆ ನೋಂಪಿಯಂ  
|| ವ || ಆ ಪರಮೇಶ್ವರಿಯಜ್ಜದಿಯನಾಳುತ್ತಮಿರೆ ತತ್ತಪಂಚದಿ  
ಮುನ್ನೆ || ಕಂ ||
೧೨. ಬೀರಂ ತ್ಯಾಗ ಸುರದ್ರಮ ಸಾರಂ ಕವಿಗಮಕವಾದಿ ವಾಗ್ವಿಜನರ್ಕ್ಕಾ  
ಧಾರಂ ಮುನ್ನಿನಶೂದ್ರಕ ವೀರಂ ಪ್ರತ್ಯಕ್ಷಮೆನಿಸಿ
೧೩. ನೆಗಲ್ಲನುದಾರಂ || ವೃ || ಕೆಳಯಂ ಗಾತ್ರಿತನಾದವಂಗಿರಿದವಂಗಿರ್ಪಂ  
ಗೆ ಶಿಷ್ಟಂಗಿ ಮಾ (ಮೋ ?) ಕಳ ಮೆಂಬಂತಿರೆ ಬಟ್ಟೆಯೊ
೧೪. ಳ್ ಬೋಳಿದಕ್ಕೇ ಕಾಂತಾರದೊಳ್ಳಿಟ್ಟಭೂತಕಮಂ ಮೋದುವ ಮಾಮ  
ರಂ ತಳಯ ಕೂಕ್ಕೇಶ್ವೋಪಭೋಗಂ ನದೀಸಲಿಲಂ ಕಾಳ್ಗೆ
೧೫. ಯಜೆಂ ಸ್ತುತೀಯಧನಮೆಂ ಬೀರಂಮಹಾದಾನಿಯೊ || ಆ ಪುರುಷ  
ರತ್ನಂಗೆ ಪವಿತ್ರಕಳತ್ರಮೆನಿಸಿ || ವೃ || ಸ್ತುತನು

೧೬. ವ್ಯಾಪ್ತಿಯೊಳಿಲ್ಲರುನ್ನತಿಜಗತ್ತುತ್ಪನ್ನ ಧರ್ಮಾಧಿದೇವತೆ ಕಾಳಿಯಯುಗಾ  
ವತಾರಣೆ ಧರಿತ್ರೀಜಾತೆ ಭಾ
೧೭. ಸ್ವತ್ವತಿನ್ರತೆ ತೇಜಳ್ಳುನರುತ್ತ ಗೌರಿ ಧರಿಣೀ ಸಾವಿತ್ರಿಯಂಬೀ ಮಹೋ  
ನ್ನತಿಯಂ ಸಂದಸಗರ್ಭಿ ರೂಪಗುಣದಿಂ
೧೮. ಸ್ತ್ರೀರತ್ನವಿಧಾತ್ರಿಯೊಳ್ || ಕಂ || ಆದಂಪತಿಗೆ ಮಗಂ ಪುಣ್ಯೋದಯ  
ನೆನೆ ಪುಟ್ಟಿ ಜಾಗಿಕಲಿಸತ್ಯವಜೋ
೧೯. ವಾದಿಯನೆ ನೆಗಲ್ವೆನೆಪಿಂ ಸಾದೇವನೆ ದೇವನೆನಿಸಿದಂ ವಸುಮತಿಯೊಳ್  
|| ವೃ || ಕರಮುದ್ವೃತ್ತತೆ
೨೦. ಯಿಂ ಬಳಂಜಿಗರ ಪಾಂಗಂ ನೈಮೆಗಂ ತಪ್ಪರಿಪ್ಪರದಪ್ಪೋದ್ಧತಿಯಂ  
ಬಳಂಜಿಗರವೆಣ್ಣಂಮುಣ್ಣಮುಳ್ಳತ್ತೆ
೨೧. ವಂದಿಗರುಟ್ಟಿ (ದ್ವಿ ?) ಲ್ಪುಗಳಂ ನಿಮಿರ್ಚಿ ಸಹದೇವಂ ನಾದುಕ್ಕೊಂ  
ದೋದೇಕೇಸರಿಶೌರ್ಯಂ ಸಲೆಸೆಟ್ಟಿವುತ್ತನೆಸಂಬರೂ
೨೨. ಡಿಯಂತಾಲ್ದದಂ || ಮುದದಿಂದಂ ಬನವಾಸಿದೇಶಮದು ಪನ್ನಿಚಾರ್ಪಿಸಿರ  
ಕ್ಕೂಡಿ ಮಾಡಿದ ವೆಂಪೊಪ್ಪಿರಲಂಗಳಿತ್ತ
೨೩. ಮಡುತಂತೋದಾಯ ಸಂದೋದದೋಸದಿನಾದೊಂದು ಕವತ್ತೆಯರ್ಕ್ಕೊ  
ಮನಿತುಂ ನಾಡೀಯೆತನ್ನರ್ಕ್ಕೊ ಮಾಡುದರಿಂ
೨೪. ದಂ ಪದಿದೊಳ್ಳುವೃತ್ತಿಯ ನಿವಂಗಕ್ಕುಂ ಸೆರಂಗಕ್ಕುಮೆ || ಕಂ || ಮಲೆ  
ಯೊಳ್ಳವೃತ್ತಿದ್ರೋಹರ ತಲೆಯಂ ಸಂದಾಡಿಸೆಟ್ಟಿ
೨೫. ವಾಲಂ ನಿಜದೊನ್ನೆಲಗರ್ವದಿಂದೆಪಡೆದಂ ಮಲೆಯರಸುಗಳೆಲ್ಲ ಮುಳ್ಳೀಯೆ  
ಸಮಯದಚಕ್ರಂ || ವೃ || ಸಕಕಾ
೨೬. ಲಂ ಸಲೆರುದ್ರಚಂದ್ರನಿಧಿಸಖ್ಯಂ ಹೇಮಲಂಬಿಪ್ರವರ್ತಕದೊಳ್ ಮನ್ನೆಯ  
ರತ್ನವೊಯೆ ದಯೆಯಿಂ ಶ್ರೀಕಾಮದೇವಂ ಗು
೨೭. ಣಪ್ರಕರಾಂಗಂ ಸಹದೇವನಜ್ಜದಿಯಗಾಮಂದಿಗೆ ತಾನೇಕಮುಖ್ಯಕ  
ನಾದಂದೋದಲಲ್ಲೆರುದ್ರಭವನ ಪ್ರಾ
೨೮. ರಂಭಮಂ ಮಾಡಿದಂ || ಪುಸಿಯಂ ಲೋಭಮುಮೆಂಬ ಕಾವಲತನಕ್ಕೋ  
ಡಾಗಿಬೋದಾಗಿ ಮಾನಸರಾಕಾರದ ಕಾಗಿ
೨೯. ಯಾಗಿನರಿಯಾಗಳ್ಳಾನರಂ ಕೂರ್ತುರೆತ್ತಿಸದಿರ್ವೆಣ್ಣೆ ಸುವಂದುಬಣ್ಣೆ  
ಸಸುಸತ್ಯೇದ್ರೀವನಂ ವೆಂಪುರಂಜಿಸ ಸಂ
೩೦. ದೀಸಹದೇವನಂಬುಧಜನಕಾಪ್ತವನಂ ಕಾವನಂ || ಕಂ || ಆತನನುಜಂ  
ಗುಣಪ್ರಖ್ಯಾತಿಯನೆನೆದಿಲ್ಲರಾಚೆ

೩೧. ಮಲ್ಲಂ ವಿಜಯಪ್ರಾಪ್ತಿಯನಲ್ಲಂ ಮೂರುವರಾತಿಗೆಮಲ್ಲಂ ಕುಮಾರ್ಗ ಚರಿತಮನೋ (1) ಲ್ಲಂ || ವೃ || ಮದನವರೋಧಿಯಂ
೩೨. ನನೆವಿರೋಧಿಗೆ ಬನ್ನುಜನರ್ಕೆ ವಜ್ರಶ್ಯಾ (ಲೋ? ಶೈ?) ಇದನದೆಗೋದೊ (ದೈ?) (ಟೋ? ಟಿ?) ಯನ್ನನೆ ನಿಜಾಶ್ರಿತ ಶಿಷ್ಯಜನರ್ಕೆ ದೇವ ಲೋಕ
೩೩. ದಿನಿಳಿತಂದ ಕಲ್ಪಕುಜದನ್ನನೆ ದೇಶಮನಾಳ್ವವಂಗೆ ಸಾಳ್ವದರಸಸಿದ್ಧಿಯಿಂ ನೆನೆದಲೆಂದಪುದೀ
೩೪. ಧರೆರಾಚಮಲ್ಲನಂ || ಕಂ || ಕಟ್ಟಿಪ್ಪುವಿಷದಮದ್ಯದ ಪುಟ್ಟಿದನೆಲಾಜಳಧಿಯಂ ಪೊಗಳದೆ ನಿಮ್ಮ
೩೫. ಟ್ಟಮಿರುರಾಚಮಲ್ಲಂ ಕಟ್ಟಿಸಿದಕ್ಕಗೆಳ್ಳಿ ಸಮುದ್ರದಿಂ ಮಿಗಿಲಲ್ತೆ || ವೃ || ಸಹದೇವಂ ನೃಪಪೂಜ್ಯ ನಜ್ಜದಿಯೊ
೩೬. ಛಾಡೈಶ್ವರ್ಯಮದೃಷ್ಟದುಸ್ಸಹ ತೇಜಂಗೆ ನಿಜಾನುಜಂಗೆ ಮುದದಿನ್ನಂ ರಾಚಮಲ್ಲಂಗೆ ನಿರ್ವಹಿಸೆಂದಾದರದಿಂದಮಿ
೩೭. ತ್ತಬನನಾಸೀದೇಶದೊಳ್ ಗರ್ವದುರ್ವಹಮಂ ನೆಟ್ಟನೆಸೆಟ್ಟಿವಾಳಮಹಿಮಾ ವಷ್ಟಂಭಮಂ ತಾಳ್ವಿದಂ ||
೩೮. ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಶಕನೃಪ ರಾಜ್ಯಕ್ರಾಂತ ಸಂವತ್ಸರಂಗಳ ಳಗನೆಯ ಸಿದ್ಧಾಂತಿ ವರ್ಷ ಉತ್ತರಾಯಣ ಸಂಕ್ರಮಣ
೩೯. ದ ಪುಣ್ಯದಿನದೊಳ್ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ಪುಂಧರಾಜನ ಮಹಾದೇವಿಯರ್ ಶ್ರೀಮ ಜ್ಞೋಗಬ್ಬರಸಿಯ ರಜ್ಜದಿ
೪೦. ಯ ಸಹದೇವೇಶ್ವರರ್ಕೆ ಗಾವುಂಡಂ ರಾಚಮಲ್ಲನಬಿನ್ನಸದಿಂ ಧರ್ಮಾನು ರಕ್ಷಚಿತ್ತೆಯರಾಗಿ
೪೧. ಸರ್ವೇನಮತ್ಯಮಾಗಿ ಬಿಟ್ಟಕರಿಯಕ್ಕೆ (?) ರಾಜಮಾನದೊಳಾರುಮತ್ತ ರೆಕಿಸುಮನ್ನೂರು
೪೨. ಮತ್ತರೆಗೆಳ್ಳಿಯೊಂದು ಮತ್ತರೆಲರುನೂರು ಬಿಟ್ಟಿಯ ತೋಟವೊಂದು ಆದಾಪದ್ಧತಿ ||
೪೩. ಈ ನಾಳ್ವೆಟ್ಟಿ ಸಹದೇವಯ್ಯಂ ತನ್ನದೇಗುಲಕ್ಕೆ ಕೇಸಕಲ್ಲಿಕ್ಕಿದಂ ಖಣ್ಣಸ್ತು ಟಿತ ಜೀರ್ಣೋ
೪೪. ದ್ಧಾರಣ ಸತ್ರ ಚರುಕುಮಿತ್ತಿದಂ ಬಿಟ್ಟರೆ ಸುಮಣ್ಣಾರೆಪ್ಪತ್ತುನಾಲ್ಕು ಮತ್ತಂ ಧರ್ಮಮಂ ಪ್ರತಿಪಾ

೪೫. ಲಸಿದಂಗೆ ವಿಜಯಪ್ರೀಬಳಾಯಾರಾರೋಗ್ಯಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಯುತ್ರರೋತ್ತರ  
ಮಕ್ಕುಂ ಕುರುಕ್ಷೇತ್ರದೊಳ
೪೬. ಶ್ವಮೇಧಂಗೆಯ್ವ ಪುಣ್ಯಮಕ್ಕುಂ ಇದನಳಿದವಗೆ ಕುರೋಗದಾರಿದ್ರ ಸಂತ  
ತಿಚ್ಛೇದಮುಂ ವಾರಣಾಸಿ
೪೭. ಯೋಳ್ ಕೋಟಿಕವಿಲೆಯುಂ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮಣರುಮಂ ಕೊಂದಮಹಾಸಾತಕ  
ಮಕ್ಕುಮಲ್ಲಿಗೆಮನುವಾಕ್ಯಮೆ
೪೮. ನೈನೆ || ಸಾಮಾನೋಯಂ ಧರ್ಮಸೇತುರ್ಸೌಖ್ಯಾಣಾಂಕಾಳೇಕಾಳೇ  
ಪಾಳನೀಯೋಭವದ್ಭಿಃ || ಸರ್ವಾನೇವಂ ಭಾವಿನಃ
೪೯. ಪಾತ್ಕಿವೇಂದ್ರಭೂಯೋಭೂಯೋ ಯಾಚತೆರಾಮಚಂದ್ರಃ || ಧವಿಷಂ  
ವಿಷವಿತ್ಯಾಹುಃ ದೇವಸ್ತಂವಿಷ
೫೦. ಮುಚ್ಯತೆ | ವಿಷಮೇಕಾಕಿನಂಹಂತಿ ದೇವಸ್ತಂಪುತ್ರಪೌತ್ರಕಂ || ಬಹುಭಿ  
ರ್ವಸುಧಾಭುಕ್ತಾರಾಜ
೫೧. ಭಿಷ್ಣುಗರಾದಿಭಿಃ ಯಸ್ಯಯಸ್ಯಯದಾಭೂಮಿಸ್ತಸ್ಯತಸ್ಯತದಾಭವಂ || ಶ್ರೀ  
ಕಂದರ್ಪನ ಕಾವ್ಯಂ ||
೫೨. ಸ್ವಾತ್ಮಕಪರಾತ್ಮಕಮೆಂಬನುಡಿಸಲ್ಲದದೇನೆನೆಪುಣ್ಯತ್ರಿಧರ್ಮತ್ರಿಗುಣತ್ರಿವಿಶ್ವ  
ಜಗ
೫೩. ತೀತಳವರ್ತಿತರ್ಕೀಯಷ್ಟು ದೀನಾತ್ಮಿಜನವಿರಾಜಿಸೆ ಮಹಾಪ್ರರೂಪಾ  
ಗನುದಾ ಪ
೫೪. ರೋಹಕಾರಾತ್ಮಕಮಿದಂಶರೀರಂಮೆನುತಿರ್ಪುದು ಗೋಸನೆರಾಚಮಲ್ಲನ
೫೫. ಶ್ರೀಮತೆ ಲೆಂಕಮುಂಜಪ್ರಿಮಜ್ಞೋಗಲದೇವಿಯ ಧರ್ಮಕ್ಕೆ ತನ್ನ ತೆರೆ  
ಯಂ ಬಿಟ್ಟುಃ ||

### Translation

A bow to Śiva joined with power and giving auspiciousness, a bow to Pārvatī and a bow to Gaṇapati who is ready at all actions.

Hail! While Kaṇḍharāja was ruling Banavāse 12000, Kuṇḍharāja, the great tributary, lion to the proud enemy, who was a goad to the elephants in the form of the multitudes of enemies in the Kingdom of Jayasimhadēva, the glorious Jagadēkamalla, the asylum of all the worlds,

the lord of the earth, the great lord of lords, the great holy, the saffron work to the race of Satyāśraya, and the ornament of the Chālukyas. The brave Vidyādhara (Kundharāja) did not allow the circle of kings to excel and surpass him in brave deeds, he alone was a warrior champion among the great tributaries well-disposed, and for his emperor expended the kingdom as far as the elephants in the quarters along with his fame.

Kundharāja who was the protector of the firm Laxmi of the kingdoms of Chōlas and Chālukyas, who was a thunderbolt to the race of the Kōśalas, who was the destroyer of Lomjikā, who was an adamant to Gūrjara, who was the destructive thunderbolt to the Chōlas, who was annihilator of the kingdom of Malaya, makes up his mind to grant Muggari, to pacify the anger of the sage, and to drive away the lord of Kānyakubja to mountains Himya (probably Vindhya).

The beautiful, virtuous, full-moon faced, Jayabbe the daughter of Bammarasa and the adopted daughter of Rājamalla and the wife of Kundharāja, was very famous.

Was it that the ladies, dazed at the beauty, charms, charity and grant of Jōgaladēvi, and wishing to equal her gave the same charitable gifts, were born like her, slept in the same cradle of her, and observed the same vows?

While the great lady was ruling at Ajjaḍi

Brave Śūdraka the direct incarnation of the former Śūdraka, valiant, the pith of the desire-yielding heavenly tree, the support of poets, versifiers, disputants and eloquent speakers, became famous.

What shall I call the valour, and the heaps of wealth of the great charitable person who was a shelter to a friend to one who sought his shelter, to one who helped him with money, to one who was with him, and to those who are virtuous like a mango tree growing on the way in a forest and bearing fruit and like the use of river water.

Being a chaste wife to that jewel of men.

On this earth this gem of woman by her beauty and virtues was famous being called Sāvitrī of the earth, the second Gaurī the shining chaste lady, Sīta born in the Kali age, the direct goddess of virtues, and Arundhati.

Sādēva, born of the couple as if he were the advent of their merits, a charitable, a valorous, truthful, a disputatious person was the very god on the face of the earth.

. . . . .

Banavāsi-dēśa is the body and soul shining with the pomp of 12000 . . . . . The maintenance of this country is by him and him alone and not by others.

Having slaughtered one and all that took away the grants in Malaya country, obtained possession of the country by the valour of his arms, when the kings of Malaya being panic stricken gave it over. When Śrī Kāmadēva in whom all the virtues take resort, and who was a gem to the dignitaries, read in Hēmalam̐bi Saṁvatsara 921 of the Śaka era that Sahadēva was the chief of Ajjāḍi, he began the constructions of the temple of Rudra.

Not minding to praise liars and avaricious men, the cows and foxes in the form of human beings and those have not had the kindness to raise up the maimed, praise Sahadēva the truthful, the giver and protector of the learned and who is shining with pomp.

His brother is Rāchamalla famous for his virtues, the lover of victory and fame, an enemy to the surpassing enemy, and an enemy to those going by the wrong path.

People on the earth say that Rāchamalla is like God Śaṅkara, to the enemies and relatives he is like Indra, to those who seek his shelter he is like the desire-yielding tree come down to the earth from heaven and to the ruling king he is like the philosopher's stone attained.

Shut up ! Don't praise the milky ocean that has given out salt, poison, wine, etc. Is not the temple built by Rāchamalla superior to ocean ?

Having given over to his brother Rāchamalla whose unbearable prowess was brought on by luck, the rule of Ajjāḍi, Sahadēva honoured by the king accepted the life of a seṭṭi at Banavāsi.

Hail ! On the auspicious day of the summer solstice of Siddhārthi 941 of the Śaka era, the glorious Jōgabbarasi the wife of Kuṇḍharāja gave at the request of Rāchamalla, the headman, to Sahadēvēśvara with salutations a black soil 6 mattars of royal measure, red soil 300 mattars, one paddy land 50 matters, one garden for voluntary service. This seṭṭi of the province Sahadēvayya fixed red stones round his temple, for the repairs of creaks, etc. granted 74 mattars of red soil.

The maintainers of this grant will attain increasing prosperity, strength, long life and health.

The usual curses and blessings.

*Kandarpa is the poet who composed the poems in the inscription.*

**Kolūr inscription of the time of Mayūravarṃma II**

The inscription is in front of the Martandēśvara temple at Kolūr, a mile from the Railway Station, Karājgi, Dharwar District. Deciphered by Messrs. G. Bengeri and S. M. Karājgi, and translated by Prof. K. G. Kundangar.

*Text*

೧. || ಶ್ರೀ || ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಸ್ತಭುವನಾಶ್ರಯ ಪ್ರಧೀವಲ್ಲಭ ಮಹಾರಾಜಾಧಿರಾಜ ಪರ
೨. ಮೇಶ್ವರ ಪರಮ ಭಟ್ಟಾರಕಂ ಸತ್ಯಾಶ್ರಯಕುಲತಿಳಕಂ ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯಾ ಭರಣಂ
೩. ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ತ್ರೈಲೋಕ್ಯಮಲ್ಲ ದೇವರ್ ಸುಖಸಂಕಥಾವಿನೋದದಿ ರಾಜ್ಯಂ ಗೆಯ್ಯು
೪. ತ್ವಮಿರೆ || ಶ್ರೀ || ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿಯಮನಿಯಮಸ್ವಾಧ್ಯಯಧ್ಯನಧಾರಣ ಪ್ರಾಣಾ
೫. ಯಾಮಪ್ರತ್ಯಾಹಾರಜಪಸಮಾಧಿ ಸಂಪನ್ನರೀಶ್ವರಪದಕಮಳ
೬. ಭೃಂಗ ಸಾಹಸೋತ್ತುಂಗನಾಶ್ರಿತಜನ ಕೃಪೃಷ್ಟ ಶರಣಾಗತ ಸುರಕ್ಷ
೭. ನುಡಿಹಂತೆ ಮಾಳ್ಕಂ ಕೂ (?) ರ್ (ರೂ) ಕೂರ್ದಂ ಪ್ರತಿಪನ್ನಮೇರುವೇತಾಂ ಗವೀರನಾ (ಸಾ ?) ಸನ್ನಿ ಧೀರಂ
೮. ವೀರಾವತಾರಂ ವೀರಚೂಡಾಮಣಿ ಗೋತ್ರಚಿಂತಾಮಣಿ ರೋಳರ್ಕುವಾ ರಂ ಸೇವಪ್ರಾಕಾರಂ ಪರ
೯. ಪರಿಪರಿಣತ ನಿಶ್ಯಂಕವೈರಿ ಗಕಸಗ ಸಂಧಾನ ಬಾಣಶಿಕ್ಷಾಗುರು ಕಲಿಯುಗ
೧೦. ದ್ರೋಣಾಚಾರ್ಯಂ ಸರ್ವಸಸ್ತ್ರಸಾಸ್ತ್ರವಿಶಾರದಂ ನಾರಾಚಪರಶು ರಾಮಂ ಗಿರಿದುರ್ಗಗಳಭಂಜ
೧೧. ನಾಂಜನೇಯ ತ್ರೈಲೋಕ್ಯರಂಜನ ಕದಕಮಾಳೇಕ ವಿಶ್ಯಂಕಂ ? ಕಣರಕ್ಷ ಪಾಳಂ ಕದಂಬಾಸ್ತಯ
೧೨. ಸಮುದ್ರರಣಂ ಸಾಮಾದಿಸಮಸ್ತಪ್ರಶಸ್ತಿ ಸಹಿತಂ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ ರಾಜಗುರು ದೇವರ್
೧೩. ಬಂಕಾಪುರದಿಂದೀಶ್ವರದೇವರ್ಗಿದ್ದ ಪನ್ನೆರಡುಬೀಡಮಂ ಸುಖದಿನಾಳುತ್ತ ಮಿರೆ || ಅ ||
೧೪. ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಸ್ತವಸುಮತೀತಳಖ್ಯಾತಂ ಚೇಮೂತವಾಹನಾನ್ವಯಪ್ರಸೂತಬ

೧೫. ನೃಪನ ಕಮಳನೀ ರಾಜಹಂಶಂ ವಿದ್ವಜನವಿನೋದಂ ಗೋಚ್ಛಿವಿನೋದಂ  
ಪದ್ಮಾವತೀಲಲವ
೧೬. ರಸ್ರಸಾದ ರಾಜವಿಕೂ ? ಪರಾಯಣವೃತ್ತಿನಾರಾಯಣಂ ಸಮ್ಯಕ್ತಚೂ
೧೭. ಡಾಮಣಿ ಭೃತ್ಯಚಿಂತಾಮಣಿ ಪ್ರತಾಪಮಾರ್ತಾಣ್ಣ ಪಗೆವರಗಂಡ ದೀನಾ  
ನಾಥಜ
೧೮. ನಸನ್ನಿರ್ವತಾನೂನದಾನ ಪನ್ನಗಧ್ವಜವಿರಾಜಮಾನ ವಿದಶಮುಗ್ಧ
೧೯. ವಾರಂಗನಾಮನೋಭಿರಾಮ ಜಲದಂಕ ರಾವ(ಮ?) ಜನಪಾದಪಂ  
ಕಜರ
೨೦. ಜಪುಂಜಪಿಂಜಿತಗಾತ್ರ ಪರಾಂಗನಾಪುತ್ರ ಸಗಳಗುಣಗಣೋತ್ತುಂಗ
೨೧. ಮಾವನಸಿಂಗ ಜಿತವೈರಿ ಸಂಕುಳದಾಯಿ ಗಡಲ್ಲದಂ (?) ಸಾಮಾಧ್ಯನೇ  
ಕಮಾ
೨೨. ಶಾಂತ್ರಿತಸಮೇತನಪ್ಪ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ ಕಲಿಯಮ್ಮರಸಂ ಬೊಸಪೂರ ನೂ
೨೩. ರನಾಲ್ಪತ್ತರ ಮನ್ನೆಯ || ಶ್ರೀ || ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿಯಮನಿಯಮ ಸ್ವಾಧ್ಯಯಧ್ಯನ
೨೪. ಧಾರಣಮೋ (ಮೇ ?) ನಾನುಷ್ಠಾನೋ (ನ ?) ಪರಾಯಣಜಪಸಮಾ  
ಧಿಸಂಪನ್ನರುಂ ಅನವರ
೨೫. ತ ಧರ್ಮಚಿತ್ತರುಮಪ್ಪ ಮಲ್ಲಿಕಾ
೨೬. ಜ್ಞಾನಭ (ಚ ?) ಕಾರ್ಗ ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಕವರುಕ ಕೂಗನೆಯ ಪಾರ್ಥಿವ ಸಂವತ್ಸ  
ರದ ಪೌಷ್ಯಶುದ್ಧ
೨೭. ಪಂಚಮಿ ಅದಿವಾರ ಉತ್ತರಾಯಣ ಸಂಕ್ರಾಂತಿಯನ್ನಬಂಕಾಪುರದಿಂದ್ರೇ  
(ದ್ರಿ ?)ತ್ವರ
೨೮. ದೇವರ್ಗಾಳ್ವ (ಳ್ವ ?) ಪನ್ನೆರಡು ಬೀಡದಬಳಿಯ ಕೋಕ್ಕೂರ ಕಲಿದೇವೇ  
ತ್ವರ ದೇವರ್ಗೆ
೨೯. ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ ರಾಜಗುರುದೇವರು ಧಾರಾಪೂರ್ವಕದಿಂ ಸರ್ಪಿ (ರ್ಪಿ) ನಮ  
ಸ್ಸುಮಾಗಿ
೩೦. ಬಿಟ್ಟಕರಗೆಯ ಬಡ್ಡಿಯಿಂ ಲೆಂಕ ಅಲಕೇರಿಯಿಂ ದೂರಾನ್ನರಂ
೩೧. ಪಡುವಲ್ ಬಿಟ್ಟರೆ ಮತ್ತರೆಂಟು ದೇಗುಲದಕೋಡೆಯಿಂ ಪಡುವ ವರದಿ
೩೨. ಯತಾಳ್ಳಿಯಿಂ ತೆಂಕಲ್ ಬಿಟ್ಟ ಕಿಸುನುತ್ತರೆರಡು ಅನ್ನು ಮತ್ತರೆಪತ್ತು
೩೩. ಮನ್ನೆಯ ಕಲಿಯಮ್ಮರಸಂ ನಂದಾದೀವಿಗೆಗೆ ಬಿಟ್ಟಪರಸೂತ್ರದಮನೆಗೆಗೆ

# Fort Hāngal Inscription of Taila II

The inscription is before the temple of Maruti, popularly known as Hāvali Hanuman, on the right side of the road leading to the Halekote, Hāngal, Dharwar District. Deciphered and translated by Prof. K. G. Kundangar.

## Text

೧. ಸ್ತುತಿ | ಸಮಸ್ತ ಭುವನಾತ್ರಯ ಶ್ರೀ ಪ್ರಿ<sup>೧</sup>ಧ್ವಿವಲ್ಲಭ ಮಹಾರಾಜಾಧಿರಾಜ ಪರ
೨. ಮೇಶ್ವರ | ಪರಮ ಭಟ್ಟಾರಕಂ | ಸತ್ಯಾತ್ರಯ ಕುಳತಿಳಕಂ | ಚಾಳು ಕ್ಯಾಭರಣಂ |
೩. ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ತಿಭುವನಮಲ್ಲ ದೇವರ ವಿಜಯ ರಾಜ್ಯಮುತ್ತರೋತ್ತರಾಭಿ
೪. ವ್ರದ್ಧಿ<sup>೨</sup> ಪ್ರ(ವ)ರ್ಧ್ಯಮಾನಮಾಜಂದ್ರಾರ್ಕ ತಾರಾಂಬರಂ ಸಲುತ್ತಮಿರೆ ತತ್ಪಾದಪದ್ಮೋಪಜಿವಿ<sup>೩</sup>
೫. ಸ್ತುತಿ | (ಸ)ಮಧಿಗತ ಪಂಚಮಹಾಶಬ್ದ ಮಹಾಮಂಡಕೇಶ್ವರಂ ಬನ ನಾಸಿ ಪುರವರೇಶ್ವರಂ ಜಯಂ
೬. ತಿಮುಧುಕೇಶ್ವರ (ಲಬ್ಧ) ವರಪ್ರಸಾದಂ | ಮೃಗಮದಾಮೋದಂ | ಕದಂ ಬರಾಭರಣಂ ಸಾನಾ
೭. ದಿ ಸಮಸ್ತ ಪ್ರಸಸ್ತಿ<sup>೪</sup>ಸಹಿತಂ | ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ಮಹಾಮಂಡಕೇಶ್ವರಂ | ಶ್ರೀಮ ತ್ತೈಲಪ ದೇವರಸರು ಬನವಾಸಿಪಿನ್ನ
೮. ಚಾರ್ಘಸಿರಮುಮಂ ಹಾನುಂಗಚ್ಚೈನೂರುಮಂ ಸ(ಬಾ) ಹ್ಯಾಭ್ಯಾಂತರ ಸಿದ್ಧ್ಯಾಯ ವಿನಯ ಸ್ವಾಮ್ಯವಮನಾಳುತ್ತಮಿರೆ
೯. ಸ್ತುತಿ ಶ್ರೀಮಚ್ಚಾಳುಕ್ಕ ವಿಕ್ರಮ ವರ್ಷದ ೪೫ನೆಯ ವ್ಷವ ಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಚೈತ್ರ ಸುದ್ಧ ಪಕ್ಷಿ
೧೦. ....ಹಾನುಂಗಚ್ಚೈನುಜರ ಬಳಿಯ ಕಪಸಪದಿವಿಳಹತೋಳಗಣಪಿ
೧೧. ....ಬ್ಬರು ಗ್ರಾಮ ಬೆಯಳ.....ಗಡಿ.....ಮಲನಬಿ..... ನ.....ಸಿದ.....

೧೨. ಪಂಡಿತಗ್ಗೇ.....ಧಾರಾಪೂರ್ವಕಂ ನೂಡಿ ತಪೋಧನಾರ್ಹತ ದಾನಕೆ  
ದೇವರ ನಿವೇದ್ಯಕೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟರು।
೧೩. ಸೆಟ್ಟಿಯರ್ಮೆ ಆಲಗೆಜೆಯ ಎಜೆದ ಸಂ ಬಧಂತಿ ಗೆಜೆಯ ನಿರುವರಿಎಲ್ಲಿ  
ಬಿಟ್ಟ ಕಂಬಂ ೨೫। ಬಿಟ್ಟ
೧೪. ದಕ್ಷಿಣದ ಕೊಳದೊಳಗೆ ಬೆಡಲ ಕಂಬ ೫೦ಯ.....ಮೂಡಲ್ ಬಮ್ಮ  
ಸೆಟ್ಟಿಯ ಕೆಜೆಯ ಕೆಳಗೆ
೧೫. ....ಕೊಂಟ ಕಂಬ ೧೫ ಬಡಗಲು ಪಡುವಲು.....ಗಡಿಯೂರ  
ಮಲ್ಲನ ಬಿಡಿ.....
೧೬. ನೂರ್ಬರಂ ಆಜುಪತ್ತು ಇನಿಟು ಕಲ್ಪೀಶ್ವರ ದೇವಗ್ಗೆ ಚೈತ್ರ ಪವಿ.....  
ಕ.....ಗಟ್ಟಿಧೂವರ ತಪೋಧನಗ್ಗೆ
೧೭. ವಸ್ತ್ರಕಂ ಕೌಪಿನಕಂ ಬಿಟ್ಟ ಧರ್ಮ ಕೊಟ್ಟಲ್ಲಿ.....ಸಂವ ನಡಯಸು  
ವರ್ತಪ್ಪ
೧೮. ....ಬಿಟ್ಟ ಧರ್ಮ.....ಗೆ ಗಣದ.....ಲಗೆ.....ಯ ನಡಯ  
ಸುವರು ಹಾನುಂಗಲೈನೂಜ
೧೯. ರ ಇಹೆಜ್ಜಂಕ ಬಿ.....ದೇವಗ್ಗೆ ಧರ್ಮವಬಿಟ್ಟ ಕೊರಡರ್ಮಮೃಳಸಿನ  
ಹೆಜು ನೂಜಕೆ.....ಲನಿ
೨೦. ....ತ್ತೆ.....ನೂಜಕೆ.....ಪ್ಪಿನ ಹೆಜು ನೂಜಕೆ ೫೫.....ಯೊಳಗೆ  
ದೇವಗ್ಗೆ
೨೧. ....ದೇವಗ್ಗೆ ಬಿಟ್ಟ.....ಒಕ್ಕಲು। ಕೊಳ್ಳ.....ಮಧ್ಯಮ  
ದೇವಗ್ಗೆ ಬಿಟ್ಟ ಒಕ್ಕಲು।
೨೨. ....ದೇವಗ್ಗೆ ಬಿಟ್ಟ.....ಯೊಕ್ಕಲು।.....ತಪ್ಪದೆ ಪ್ರ
೨೩. ತಿಪಾಲಿಸಿದನಗ್ಗೆ ಕುರುಕ್ಷೇತ್ರದೊಳಂ ವಾರಣಸಿಯಲುಂ ಪಯಾಗ್ಗೆ(ಯ)  
ಲುಂ.....ಗಂಗೆಯ ತಂ
೨೪. ....ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣಗ್ಗೆ ತಪೋಧನಗ್ಗೆ ಸಾಸಿರ ಕವಿಲೆಯ ಕದಂ ಕೊಳ  
ಗುನುಂ ಪೊನ್ನಿನೊಲು ಬಿಟ್ಟಯ.....
೨೫. ....ಗಲಿದವರು ಕುರುಕ್ಷೇತ್ರದೊಳಂ ವಾರಣಸಿಯಲುಂ.....
೨೬. ....ಗೆಯಲು.....ಯಲು ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣರಂ ತಪೋಧನರಂ ಕವಿಲೆಯು  
ಮಂ.....ದಿದದೊಷ.....
೨೭. ಸ್ವದತ್ತಂ ಪರದತ್ತಾಂ ವಾ ಯೊ ಹರಿತಿ ವಸುಂದರಾಂ ಪಸ್ತಿಂ॥ ವರ್ಷ  
ಸಹಸ್ರಾಡೆ.....ಯತಿ ಕ್ರಿಮಿ॥

*Translation*

1-4. Hail! While the victorious reign of the glorious Tribhuvan-malladēva—the asylum of all the universe, the favourite of the world, the great lord of lords, the supreme lord, the most worshipful one, the glory of the family of Satyāśraya, the ornament of the Chalukyas—was flourishing with perpetual increase so as to endure as long as the moon, the sun and the stars might last, the dependent on his lotus-feet.

5-8. Hail! While the glorious mahāmandalēśvara Tailapadēva who had attained pancha mahā-śabda and the title Mahāmandalēśvara the supreme lord of Banavāsi the best of cities, he who had acquired the excellent favour of the god Jayanti Madhukēśvara, he who had the perfume of musk, he who was endowed with all the excellences such as . . . . name, etc. was governing Banavāsi 12,000 and Hānumgal 500 with the ownership external and internal income and obeisance.

9-12. Gave to . . . . pandits with the pouring of water for the giving of food to ascetics and for the offering of eatables to deities . . . . near Hānumgal—Aynūru on the sixth day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra in Plava Samvatsara, the 45th year of the glorious Chalukya Vikrama varsha.

13-14. Land grant of 25 kambas on the stream . . . . by . . . . Setti, and 25 kambas in the Southern valley.

14-17 . . . . Garden of 15 kambas lower down the Bammisetti tank on the east, on the north and west . . . . the village boundary . . . . of Malla . . . . five hundred and sixty-eight . . . . This grant was made to supply sandal wood and burning incense, and to supply clothes and loin cloth to ascetics, and it will be maintained by . . . .

18. . . . grant will be maintained by . . . .

19-22. From the tax on pepper at . . . . on every one hundred bags, . . . . on every one hundred bags and at 55 on every one hundred bags of salt granted to god . . . . of Hānumgal 500, one part to god . . . . one part to god . . . . and one part to god . . . .

23-25. Those who maintain this grant without any breach will attain the merit of giving away one thousand cows along with gold hoofs and horns to Brahmins and ascetics at Kurukshetra, Vāranasi, Prayāga, etc.

25-26. Those who take away this gift (will incur the sin of the murder of) so many cows and Brahmins at Kurukshetra, Vāranasi . . . .

27. He who takes away the gift land granted by himself or by another will be born a worm in . . . . for sixty thousand years.

### Kappale-bhavi Inscription

The inscription is used as a stepping-stone at the Kappale-bhavi, Halekote, Hāngal, Dharwar District. Deciphered and translated by Prof. K. G. Kundangar.

#### Text

೬. ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ತಿ ಭುವನಮಲ್ಲದೇವ ವರುಷದ
೭. ೪೪ನೆಯ ವಿರೋಧಿಸಂವತ್ಸರ ಜ್ಯೇಷ್ಠ ಬಹಳ ೧....ಮಂಗಳವಾರದಂದು  
.....ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಧಿಗತ ಪಂಚ
೮. ಮಹಾಶಬ್ದ ಮಹಾಮಣ್ಣೀಶ್ವರಂ ಬನವಾಸಿಪುರವರಾಧಿಶ್ವರಂ ಜಯ  
ಸ್ತುಮಧುಕೇಶ್ವರದೇವನರಪ್ರಸಾದಂ ಮೃಗ
೯. ಮದಾನೋದಂ ತ್ರೈಕ್ಷಸಂಭವಂ ಚತುರಾಸೀತಿನಗರಾಧಿಪ್ತಿಕಂ ಲಲಾಟ  
ಲಬ್ಧನಯನಂ ಚತುರ್ಭುಜಂ ಜಗದ್ವಿಖ್ಯಾತಾರ್ಜುನ
೧೦. ಧ ದಿಕ್ಷಿತಂ ಹಿಮವದ್ವಿಕಿಂಧ್ರರುಂ ಪ್ರತಿಖರ ಸಂಸ್ಥಾಪಿತಪುಟಕಶಿಲಾಸ್ತಂಭ  
ಬದ್ಧಮದಗಜ ಮಹಾಮಹಿ
೧೧. ಮಾಭಿರಾಮಂ ಕಾದಂಬಚಕ್ರಿಮಯೂರವರ್ಮ ಮಹಾಮಹಿಪಾಲ ಕುಳ  
ಭೂಷಣಂ ವರ್ಮಪ್ರಿತುರ್ಯ ನಿರ್ಘೋಷಣಂ ಶಾಖಾಚರೇಂದ್ರ
೧೨. ಧ್ವಜವಿರಾಜಮಾನೋತ್ಕುಂಗ ಸಿಂಹಲಾಂಭನಂ ದತ್ತಾರ್ಥಿಕಾಂಚನಂ  
ಸಮರಜಯಕಾರಣಂ ಕಾದಂಬರಾಭರಣಂ ಮಾರ್ಕೋಳ್ವರಗಣ್ಣಂ  
ಪ್ರತಾ
೧೩. ಪರ್ಮಾರ್ತಗಣ್ಣಂ ಮಣ್ಣೀಕ ಗಣ್ಣಂ.....ಜಿತನೇನಿಪ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ತೈಲ  
ಪದೇವರಸರು.....
೧೪. ....ನೆಲೆವಿಡಿನಲುಸುಖಸಂಕಥಾವಿನೋದದಿಂ ರಾಜ್ಯಂಗೆಯ್ಯುತ್ತಮಿರೆ  
ತಕ್ಕಾದಪದ್ವಿಪಜಿವಿ ಮಾದಿಸೆಟ್ಟಿಯರು ಬಿಟ್ಟ ತಲೆಯೂರ.....ವನು
೧೫. ....ತಿತದಲು ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಣೇಶ್ವರದೇವರಲಿಂದ ಪ್ರತಿ.....ಕೈಲ  
ಹದೇವಂಗೆ ಬಿನ್ನಸಂಗೆಯ್ದು
೧೬. ....ಸರ್ವಭಾಧಪರಿಹಾರಮಾಗಿ ದತ್ತಿಯಂ ಪಡೆದು ಶ್ರೀಮತಂಬಲಗೆ  
ಶ್ವರ ದೇವರ.....ಪೋಯ್ಯ.....
೧೭. ಸಿಂಹ ದೇವರ ಕಾಲಂಕರ್ಚಿ ಧಾರಾಪೂರ್ವಕಂ ಮಾಡಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಕೆಯಿಂ  
ತತ್ಪದಿಂ ಮಾಡಲು ಮತ್ತರೆ.....

೧೮. ಮಲ್ಲಿಕಾರ್ಜುನದೇವರ ಕೆಯ್ಯಂ ಮೆರೆ ಮಾಡಲು ಆಗಲು ಬಡಗಲು  
ಬನವೆಶ್ವರದೇವರ ಕೆಯ್ಯಂ ಕವ್ವಂ.....
೧೯. ....ತಿತದಿ ಕಂಬದಲು ಕೆಯ್ಯಂ ಕಮ್ಮಬಜುವತ್ತು ೬೦ || ಮತ್ತೂ  
ಬ್ರಮೈಶ್ವರದೇವರ್ಗೆ ಪಲ್ಲ ಮೂನ್ನೂ.....ಪಲ್ಲಿಶ್ವರದೇವರಿಂ.....
೨೦. ....ವಯ್ಯತ್ತು ೫೦ || ಮತ್ತಮಲ್ಲಿಯ ಮಲ್ಲಿಕಾರ್ಜುನದೇವರ್ಗೆ.....  
ಮೈಶ್ವರದೇವರ ಕೆಯ್ಯಂ ಬಡಗಲು ಗದ್ದೆಯಿಂ ಮೂಡಲು ಕೆಯ್ಯಂ  
ಕವ
೨೧. ....ದೊಳಗಣನಿನಿತು ಭೂಮಿಯುಮಂ ಮಾಡಿಸೆಟ್ಟಿಯುಂ ಭಾಮಿಸೆ  
ಟ್ಟಿಯುಂ ತೈಲಹದವನ.....ಸರ್ವಬಾಧೆ ಪರಿಹಾರವಾಗಿ
೨೨. ....ತಂ ಭುಮಿಶ್ವರದೇವರ ಸ್ಥಾನದಾಚಾರ್ಯರಸ್ತ ವಾಮೈಶ್ವರ  
ದೇವರ ಕಾಲಂಕರ್ಚ್ಚಿ ಧಾರಾಪೂರ್ವಕವಾಗಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿರು ಬೆಟ್ಟಕೆರಿ  
ಯಂಬತ್ತೆಂ
೨೩. ....ನಾಯಕಂ....ಸ್ಥಾನತಿರ್ಥಂ ಬುಲಿಗೆಶ್ವರದೇವರ ಮಸಕೆ.....  
ಧರ್ಮವ ನಡೆಯಿಸುವರು ಶ್ರಿ ಸ್ತುತಿ(ಸ)ನುಧಿಗತ ಪಂಚಮಹಾಶಲ್ಪ  
ಮಹಾ
೨೪. ಮಣ್ಣಕೆಶ್ವರಂ ಕಾಳಾಂಜರಪುರವರಾಧಿಶ್ವರಂ ಸುವರ್ಣ್ಯ ಶ್ರೀ.....  
ಧ್ವಜ ಡಮರುಗತೂರ್ಯ ನಿರ್ಘೋಷಣ ಕಳಚುರ್ಯ
೨೫. ಕುಳಕಮಳಮಾರ್ತ್ಯಂಡಂ ಕದನ ಪ್ರಚಂಡಂ ಮಾ.....ಬಳಂ  
ಸುಭಟರಾದಿತ್ಯಂ ಕಲಿಗಳಂಕುಶಂ ಗಜಸಾಮನ್ತ ಶರಣಾಗ
೨೬. ತವಪ್ರಪಂಜರಂ ಪ್ರತಾಪಲಂಕೆಶ್ವರಂ ಪರನಾರಿಸಹೊದರಂ ಗಿರಿದುರ್ಗ  
ಮಲ್ಲಂ ನೈರಿಭಕಂಠಿರನಂ ಶನಿವಾರಸಿದ್ಧಿ.....
೨೭. ....ಸಮಸ್ತಪ್ರಶಸ್ತಿಸಹಿತಂ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ತಿಭುವನಮಲ್ಲ ಬಿಜ್ಜಣದೇವರ  
ಸರು ಸಖಸಂಕಥಾವಿನೋದದಿಂ ರಾಜ್ಯಂಗಿ
೨೮. ಯುತ್ತುಮಿರೆ ತತ್ತ್ವಾದಪದ್ಯೋಪಜಿವಿ ಕಸಪಯ್ಯನಾಯಕರುಂ ಡಾಕರ  
ಸದೇಕನಾಯಕರುಂ ಸಮಸ್ತಪ್ರಮುಖಕರಣಂಗಳುಂಮಿರ್ದ್ವ ರಾಜಗು
೨೯. ರು ದೇವರಸರ.....ಸ್ಥಾನದ ಸಂನಿಧಾನದಲು ಬಾಗಿಶ್ವರದೇವರ  
ನೇವೆದ್ಯಕಂ ತಪೋಧನರಗ್ರಾಸಕಂವೆನ್ನ ತಂಬುಲಿಗೆಶ್ವರದೇವರಸ್ಥಾನ  
ದಾಚಾ
೩೦. ಯರಕ್ಷಣ ವಾಮಶಕ್ತಿಸಂಡಿತದೇವರ ಕಾಲಂಕರ್ಚ್ಚಿ ಧಾರಾಪೂರ್ವಕಂ  
ಮಾಡಿ ಸರ್ವಬಾಧಪರಿಹಾರಮಾಗಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಗದ್ದೆ ಕಬ್ಬಿನ ಹರಿ

೩೧. ಯಲಿ ಮತ್ತಾರೊಂದು ಗ ಮೆರಿಯ ಸಿಮೆ ಮೂಡಲು.....ಶ್ವರದಕೆ  
ಯಿಂತೆಕಲು ಮೂಲಸ್ಥಾನದ ಮಾದೇವದೇವರ ಕೆಯಿ ಹಡುವಲುಂ  
ಬಡಗಲುಂ
೩೨. ....ಸಿಮೆ ಮತಕುಜಿಂಬಮ ಮಾದೇವ ಸಿದ್ಧಿಶ್ವರದೇವರ ನೆವೆದ್ಯಕಂ  
ತಪೊಧನರ ಗ್ರಾಸಕೆ.....ಕಟ್ಟಿನ ಹರಿಯಲಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಗದ್ದೆ ಕಮ್ಮ  
ನಾಲ್ವತ್ತು ೪೦ ೮
೩೩. ....ಸಿಮೆ ಮೂಡಲು ಬಮ್ಮೆಸ್ವರದ ಕೆಯಿ ತೆಂಕಲು.....ಕೆಯಿ  
ಪಡುವಲು.....ಗೆಸ್ವರದ ಕೆಯಿ ಬಡಗಲು ಬಿಟ್ಟಿವುದ ಕೆಯಿ
೩೪. ....ಸಿಮೆ ತಂಬಿಗೆಸ್ವರದೇವರಿಗೆ ದೇವರಿಂ ಬಡಗಲು.....  
.....ದೇವರಿಗೆ ದೇವ
೩೫. ....ಪಡುವಲು ಹಕಲು ಕಮ್ಮ ೨೦ ೮ ಸ್ಥಳ ಪುನ್ನೇಶ್ವರದೇವರಿಗೆ  
ದೇವರಿಂ ತೆಂಕಲುಂ ಹಕಲು ಕಮ್ಮ ೧೨.....ತೆಂ
೩೬. ಕಲು ಕಮ್ಮ ಹದಿನೆಂಟು ನಗೆಶ್ವರ.....ನಾಯಕರುಂ ದಾಕರಸ  
ದಂಕನಾಯಕರುಂ ಪ್ರಮುಖ ಕಲಿಗಳುಂ.....
೩೭. ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ತಾಂಬುಲಿಗೆಶ್ವರರಾಚಾರ್ಯರಪ್ಪ ವಾಮಶಕ್ತಿಪಂಡಿತದೇವರ ಕಾ  
ಲಂಕರ್ಚಿ ಧಾರಾಪೂರ್ವಕಂ ಮಾಡಿ ಸರ್ವನಮಸ್ಕವಾಗಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟ  
ಗದ್ದೆ ನಾಲ್ವ
೩೮. ತ್ತು ೪೦ ಆದಜಸೀಮೆ ಮೂಡಲು ಕುಜಿಂಬರ ಸಿದ್ಧೇಶ್ವರದ ಕೆಯಿ  
ತೆಂಕಲು ಕರಿಗೆ ಸೊವಣನಕೆಯಿ ಪಡುವಲು ಹಳ್ಳ ಬಡಗಲು ಪುರಿ  
ಕೊ.....
೩೯. ಸ್ವರದಕೆಯಿ ಇನ್ನುಸಿಮೆ॥ ಮತ್ತಂ ತಂಬುಲಿಗೆಶ್ವರದೇವರ ತಿರ್ಕ್ಕದ ಈ  
ಶಾನ್ಯದ ಬಳಿಧಾಪಿಶ್ವರದೇವರ ಸ್ಥಾನಮುಂ ಆತಿತ್ಯದನ್ನಿರಿತ್ಯಕೆ  
ರೆವಣೇಶ್ವರದೇವ
೪೦. ರಸ್ಥಾನಮುಂ ಬಿಟ್ಟಿಕೆರಿಯ ಬಿಟ್ಟಿವುದ ದೇವರ ಸ್ಥಾನಮುಂ ಕೊಂಡರಟ್ಟಿ  
ಎಪ್ಪತ್ತಾಜಿಗಳಣ ಬ.....೪ದ ಕಲಿದೇವಿಶ್ವರ ದೇವರ ನೆವೆದ್ಯಕುಂ  
ತಪೊಧ
೪೧. ನರ ಗ್ರಾಸಕಂವೆನ್ನು ಕೊಳಗಾಮಣ್ಣಂ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ತಾಂಬುಲಿಗೆಶ್ವರದ ಸ್ಥಾನಾ  
ಚಾರ್ಯ ವಾಮಶಕ್ತಿಪಂಡಿತದೇವರ ಕಾಲಂಕರ್ಚಿ ಧಾರಾಪೂರ್ವಕಂ  
ಮಾಡಿ
೪೨. ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಗದ್ದೆ ಕಮ್ಮನಯ್ಯತ್ತು ೫೦.....ಲಿಗೆ ಜಿನಾಡ ಬಿಳ್ಳಿಟ್ಟಿಕೆಯ  
ತುರದ ಸೊಮೆಶ್ವರದೇವರಸ್ಥಾನದಾಚಾರ್ಯ ಗ.....ಸಿ ಪಂಡಿತ  
ದೇವರ ಶಿಷ್ಯರಪ್ಪ

೪೩. ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ತಂಬುಲಿಗೈಶ್ವರದೇವರ ಸ್ಥಾನದಾಚಾರ್ಯವಾಮಶಕ್ತಿಪಂಡಿತದೇ  
ವರ ಮಹಿಮಾಪ್ರಭಾವ ಮೆನ್ನೆಂದಡೆ || ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿಯಮನಿಯಮ ಸ್ವಾ  
೪೪. ಧ್ಯಾಯಧ್ಯಾನಧಾರಣ

*Translation*

On Tuesday the . . . day of the dark half of Jyēṣṭha (June) Virōdhi Samvatsara, the 44th year of Chalukya Tribhuvanamalla-dēva.

While king Tailapadēva was ruling at his capital in happy and pleasant conversation, Tailapadēva the mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, who had attained, pañchamahāśabda, the supreme lord of the best of cities Banavāsi, who had obtained favour of Jayanti-madhukēśvara, who had the fragrance of musk, who was born of the three-eyed, who was at the head of eighty-four towns, who had an eye on the forehead, who had four arms, who had undertaken the horse-sacrifice famous in the world, who was charming on account of the prowess of tying an elephant in rut to the marble pillar fixed on the top of the Himalaya mountains, who was an ornament to the race of the great Kādamba king and emperor Mayūravarmma, who was producing the sound of the great kettle-drum, who had the powerful and shining lion on the banner marked with a monkey, who has given in charity gold to beggars, who was the cause of victory on battle-fields, who was an ornament to the Kādambas, who was an enemy to the opponents, who was the sun with his valour, and who had conquered the inimical heroes of the tributaries.

The dependent on his lotus feet Māḍiṣeṭṭi having requested Tailahadēva and having obtained permission for the grant, granted a piece of land free from all sorts of taxation to Vamaśakti Paṇḍitadēva washing his feet and pouring water. Here are given the boundaries and the area of the grant lands.

Māḍiṣeṭṭi and Bhāmṣeṭṭi with the permission of Tailahadēva granted these pieces of land free from all taxations to Vamēśvaradēva, the preceptor of the holy place of God Tambuliśvaradeva with the usual pouring of water after washing his feet.

(The second portion of the Inscription from line 23 . . . .)

While Tribhuvanamalla Bijjanadēva with all his praiseworthy titles was ruling with an entertainment of happy conversation, Bijjanadēva, who had attained pañchamahāśabda, who was the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, who was the great lord of the best of the cities Kaṇanjārapura, who had

his banner decorated with golden . . . , who had the honour of sounding drums and damaru, who was the sun to the lotus-like of the Kalachuryas, who was terrific at the battle . . . , who was the sun to the heroes, who was like the lord of Lunka in his valour, who was the brother to other ladies, who was a hero in (destroying) the hill-forts, who was like a lion in (destroying) the elephants in the form of enemies, who had attained (supernatural) power peculiar to Saturday.

The dependent on his lotus-like feet, Kasapayya Nāyaka and Enka Nāyaka of the family of Dākaraśa joining hands with the prominent people and the village accountants or clerks granted lands free from all taxation to Vāmaśakti-panḍitadēva, the Ācharya of the holy place of Tambuligēśvara, after washing his feet and pouring water, for the Naivēdya to Bagīśvaradeva, and to give food to ascetics. This was done in the proximity of Rājaguru-devarasa.

(The boundaries of the grant lands follow hereafter.)

## No. 11

### Dyāmava Temple Viragal of Taila II

The viragal is in front of Dyāmava temple, Halekōṭe, Hāngal, Dharwar District. Deciphered by Messrs. G. Bengeri and S. M. Karajgi and translated by Prof. K. G. Kundangar.

#### Text

ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಸ್ತ ಪ್ರಶಸ್ತಿ ಸಹಿತಂ ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ಮಹಾಮಂಡಲೇಶ್ವರ ಶೈಲಸದೇವರ  
ಪಾ(ಹಾ?)ದವಳ ಶೈಲಣಾಗ ಮೈದುನಂ ಬೆಟ್ಟತಪ್ತವನಿರಿದುರುಳ್ಳವ ಸೇಳ್ಳಿಯು  
ಮಂ ಕೊಂಡೊಯ್ಯರ ತುರುಮಮುಂ ಸೇಳ್ಳಿಯುಮಂ ಮಗುಳ್ಳು ಸ್ವರ್ಗಸ್ಥನಾದನು.

#### Translation

Hail! Taila Nāga, the brother-in-law and commander-in-chief of Tailapa-dēva with all the greatness and praises of bards, died having succeeded in turning back the cows captured and . . . fighting a great battle-ship.

## No. 12

### Tarakēśvara Temple Viragal of the Time of Mayuravarmma III

The viragal is at the Tarakēśvara temple, Fort, Hāngal, Dharwar District. Deciphered and translated by Prof. K. G. Kundangar.

*Text*

೧. ಸ್ತುತಿ ಸಮಸ್ತ ರಿಪುಬ್ರಾಜ ಮಸ್ತಕ ವಿನ್ಯಸ್ತಪಾದಕಮಳಂ ಜಗತಿ ಪ್ರಾಸ್ತು  
ತೃನೆನಿಪ ಮಗಣನ ವಿ ಸೌರಿಣಯ್ಯ ಮೂರ್ತಿನಾಯಕ ಬಸಮ
೨. ಪೊರೆದಧಿನಾಯಕಂ ಮಸಣ ಮಂಡಳಿಕಂ ಬಿಸಸಲ್ವೆ ವಿರನಿ, ಬಿರುದರ  
ಗೊಪನಾಕುವರ ಹೆಮ್ಮನ್ನಿಪಾಳಕ.....ನೊಡೆ ಪ.....ಕರ
೩. ಧರೆಯಲಿ ತೈಲಪನ ಪಟ್ಟಿಯಮಲ್ಲನಯ್ಯಾರದ.....ತುರಗವನೆಜೊದ  
ನಲ್ಪಸತ್ವಬಸವಂ ಮಜಿವೊದ.....ತಗಡಳ.....ಕಡರಿಧರಾ
೪. ಪೃತ ವರ್ಗಮಂ ತಗುಟ್ಟು ರವಣೆಯಿಂದ ಮೈರಿಗಡಿಯೊಳು ಕಡಿದು ಅಟ್ಟ  
ಸಟ್ಟಂ ಪೊಯ್ದನುದ್ಧತವಂತ ಕೊಪದಿಸಬಳದಿಯೊನೆಕಡಿಯೊಳ್ಗೆ  
ಲಿದಂ ಕೆಲುಂಬ
೫. ರನಜಗಡಿಡಿಟ್ಟಿಂದದಿಂ ಬಸವಂ ರಣರಂಗ ಭೂಮಿಯೊಳು॥ ಅಂತಜಿಕ್ಕು  
ಮೆಜಿಯೆ ಸಂಗಡಂದೆಂತು ನಿಲಲಾಜದೊಳಂತು ತಗದಿ.....ಕೊವ್ವ  
.....ತಡೆಕಂಬಿ.....
೬. ಸಾಂತ ವಿಕ್ಟೆಜೊಂ ನೆಳೆ.....ನುರಿದ ಬರಿದ॥ ಅರಿಬಳವೆಲ್ಲಮೆಂದೆ ಕಾರ  
ದಿಂ ನಾ.....ನೆಮಲೆವಾ.....ಪಣನುರ್ವಿಯೊಳ್ಗೆಲ್ಲಕೆ.....ಂದು  
ತೊರ್ಪ್ಪ.....
೭. ವರಕೆನೆ.....ಮನೊಹರಪರಿತಂ.....ರಿಂತೆದೆಯು .....ಜ್ಞನೆ ಬಂಟಿಗ  
.....ಣೆಯು .....ಬಾತಿಜಿತ .....ಬಸಿ .....ಸುಭಟ  
.....ವಿನಾಯಕ.....
೮. ....

*Translation*

Hail! Sauriṇayya-mūrti Nāyaka, who had placed his lotus-like foot on the heads of the multitudes of all kings.

At the request of the tributary Masapa, who was the patron and superior Nāyaka, Basava of great prowess, for the protection of the titles of the boy king Hemma mounted his horse to fight with Malla at the head of 500 cavalry of Tailapa. Basava drove away the besiegers with great vehemence, struck to drive away the enemy, being angry conquered some of them, and cut them into halves.

Brightening up the heavens with his presence and not desiring to stay here, he went away to heaven accompanied by the heavenly damsels.

**Kappale-bhāvi Viragal of Kāma-dēva**

The viragal is to the west of the Kappale-bhāvi, Halekōṭe, Hāngal, Dharwar District. Deciphered by Messrs. G. Bengeri and S. M. Karajgi and translated by Prof. K. G. Kundangar.

*Text*

೧. ಶ್ರೀಮಚ್ಚಾಳುಕ್ಕು ಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿ ತ್ರಿಭುವನಮಲ್ಲ ನಾರಾಯಣಾ ಸೋಮೇಶ್ವರ  
ದೇವ ವರ್ಷ ೨ ಶೋಭಕೃತುಸಂವತ್ಸರ
೨. ವೈಶಾಖ ಬಹುಳ ೫ ಸೋಮವಾರದಂದು ತತ್ಪಾದಪದ್ಮೋಪಚೇವಿಯಪ್ಪ  
ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ಮಹಾಪ್ರಧಾನಂ ಶ್ರೀಮ.....
೩. ಣಾಯ್ಯಂದಂಡನಾಯಕನಮಗ.....ಸೋಯ್ಯಂ ಹಾನುಂಗಲ್ಲನಾಡಂ  
ಪಡೆದು ನಂದನ ಬಳಿಯಲು ಬೀಡುಂ
೪. ಬಿಟ್ಟು ಕಾದುತ್ತಮಿರೆ || ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿಸಮಧಿಗತ ಪಂಚಮಹಾಶಬ್ದ ಮಹಾ  
ಮಂಡಲೇಶ್ವರ ಬನವಾಸಿಪುರವರಾಧಿ
೫. ಶ್ವರಂಜಯನ್ತಿಮಧುಕೇಶ್ವರ ದೇವಲಬ್ಧ ವರಪ್ರಸಾದನುಂ, ಸಾಹಸೋತ್ತಂ  
ಗನುಂ ಮೃಗಮದಾಮೋದನುಂ
೬. ಹರಧರಣಿಪ್ರಸೂತ ಚತುರಸೀತಿನಗರಾಧಿಸ್ಥಿತಂ ಲಲಾಟಲೋಚನಚ  
ತುರ್ಭುಜಸಶಾಖಾಚರೇಂದ್ರಧ್ವಜವಿರಾಜಮಾನಮಾನೋತ್ತಂಗಸಿಂಹ  
ಲಾಂಛನಂ.
೭. ಕದಂಬ ಕುಳಕಮಳಮಾರ್ತಾಂಡನುಂ ಕದನಪ್ರಚಂಡನುಂ ದರ್ಪಿಷ್ಠಮಂ  
ಡಳೀಕದಾನವಜನಾರ್ದನನುಂ ಮಲಯ
೮. ಮಂಡಳೀಕಮದನಮಾಹೇಶ್ವರನುಂ ಪ್ರತಾಪಲಂಕೇಶ್ವರನುಂ ವೈರಿ ಮಂಡ  
ಳೀಕಪನ್ನಗವೈನತೇಯನುಂ
೯. ಭುಜಬಲಭೀಮನುಮೆನಿಸಿದ ಕಲಿಗಳಂಕುಶ ಕಾಮದೇವರಸನು ಹಾನುಂ  
ಗಲ್ಲಪಟ್ಟಣದೊಳು ಸುಖದಿಂ ರಾ
೧೦. ಜ್ಯಂಗೈಯುತ್ತಮಿರೆ || ತತುಪಾದಪದ್ಮೋಪಚೇವಿಯುಂ ಮಚ್ಚರಿಪನಾಯ  
ಕರನೆತ್ತಿಯರೂಲನುಂ
೧೧. ಭೂನುತಜನಪನುಂ ಶುತನು ಮೆನಿಸಿದ.....ಕಳಸೂತ.....ವಾನರ  
ವಕೌಳಿ ದರ್ಜಿತಾಗಮ ಪರಾಕ್ರಮಮೆಂತೆ

೧೨. ನೃದೇ || ಕಂ || ಸುತ್ತಿರಿದು ಮೆರೆದು ರಣದೊಳ್ಳೆತ್ತರ ದಿಂಬಣವೆನಾದಿ....  
ಸೂತಂ ಬಿಟ್ಟರಸಿ ವೀರರಸದಿಂ ಧುರಮಂ
೧೩. ಸುರಲೋಕಸತಿಯರೊಡನಾಡುವನಂ || ..... ಪಿಡಿದೊಂದುರಾಗದಿಂ ಸುರ  
ಕಾಂತೆಯರೆಲ್ಲರನೆರೆ
೧೪. ದು ವಾಯುಸೂನುಂ ತರಜೆಲುವ ಸುತನಿವನೆಂದು ಕಲಿಯಂಕಕಾರಸಾರಿ  
ಸಹಿತಸಗ್ಗ ಕೊಯ್ದರ್ || ಜಿತನ ಲಭ್ಯತೆ ಲ
೧೫. ಪ್ತೀ ಮೃತೆನಾಪಿ ಸುರಾಂಗನಾ..... ಕಾಚಿಂತಾ ಮರಣೆ ರಣೆ

### Translation

On Monday the fifth day of the dark fortnight of Vaisākha Sōbha (na) kritu Samvatsara the second year of Somēśvaradēva, Tribhuvanamalla Nārāyaṇa, the glorious Chālukya emperor.

While Soyya the son of the commander-in-chief, the prosperous . . . . nārya, having obtained possession of Hānungal, and having encamped near Nandana, was fighting (with the enemy), the (elephant) goad to heroes.

Hail ! While Kāmadēvarasa was ruling happily at his capital Hānungal, Kāmadēvarasa, the Mahā-maṇḍalēśvara who had attained pancha-mahā-śabda, the supreme lord of Banavasi the best of cities, who had obtained favour of Madhukēśvara of Jayanti, who was great on account of his enterprises, who has the fragrance of musk, who had taken possession of eighty-four cities, born of earth (under the favour) of Hara, who had an eye on the forehead, who had four arms, who was shining with his banner on which was displayed a monkey, who had an emblem of a powerful lion, who was the sun to the lotus of the race of the Kadambas, who was terrific at the battle-field, who was like God Vishṇu to the demons in the form of the proud tributaries, who was like God Mahēśvara to Madana in the form of the tributary in the (western) ghauts, who was like the lord of Ceylon (Rāvaṇa) in valour, who was like Vainatēya (Garuḍa) to the serpents in the form of the inimical tributaries, and who was by the power of his arms like Bhīma.

The dependent on his lotus feet, . . . . who was a spear to pierce the heads of the malicious Nāyakas, who was a lord praised by the people, who had a monkey on his head, showed his valour thus :—

Moving on all sides on the battle-field, making pools of blood, died bravely. Then he sported with the heavenly damsels.

All the heavenly damsels gathered together, caught hold of him lovingly and carried him to heaven saying, " This is the son of Vāyu, is beautiful, brave and a champion."

With victory is obtained wealth, and with death are obtained heavenly damsels . . . . Why worry about death on the battle-field?

No. 14

### Tarakēśvara Temple Viragal of the Time of Kāma-dēva

The viragal is at the Tarakēśvara temple, Fort, Hangal, Dharwar District.  
Deciphered and translated by Prof. K. G. Kundangar.

*Text*

೧. ಜನಕನಗು.....ನ ಕಸರಕಂಬಯ ಸಾಹಣೆ ಹೊಲ್ಲಿಯಂಗನೆ ಜನನಿಯ  
ನಲ್ಲಿ ಕಂ(ಬ)ಯ ಮಾ
೨. ಧವಸಾಹಣೆ ಭಾವನಾಗೆ ತಂಮ್ಮನೆ ವಿಭುಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಣಂ ಕಲಿಗಳಂಕುಶನಪ್ಪ  
.....ಂಪಾ.....ವನೆ
೩. ....ತಿ ಯೆಂಬಿನಂ ನೆಗಳ್ಳನೆ.....ಮ ಸಾಹಣೆಯುಡ್ಡ ವಿಕ್ರಮಂ ||  
ಅನ್ನು ಪುಟ್ಟಿ ನೆಗರ್ತ್ತೆಗಂ
೪. ನೆಲೆಯಾಗಿ || ಬಳವದರಾತಿಸಂತತಿಗರ್ಧ್ವ ಜತುವಿಧ ದುರ್ಗ್ಗ ಶಂಕುಳಂ  
ಗಳದ.....ಲೆತ್ತಲೆಂ
೫. ದು ಕಲಿಕಾಲಸ್ರಿಪಾಳಕನುಡ್ಡತಾರಿ ಮಂಡಳಕರಮೆಲೆ ಸೂಳಯಿಸಿ  
ದಿಗ್ವಿಜಯೋತ್ಸವದಿಂ
೬. ಬರಲೈ ಬೆಂಬಳಯನೆಬಂದನಾಂ ಪರಗತಾಂ ಜಯಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಿಯಮೆಲೆಕ್ಷಮ....  
.....ಂ || ಅನ್ನು ಬಕು
೭. ಗುರಿದೊಳವೆಲಗೆ .....ಲದೊತರಿ.....ವಂಗಿ.....ಪೊಗಲಹಿತರ್ಪ  
ಲರುಂರನತ್ತರಾಗದೊಡ.....ದೊಳಂ.....ನುಜ
೮. ....ವೆ....ಣ....ದಿಗಳ .....ಲಧಿಕಧಿಕಾಮಭೂಭುಜ.... ಳಂ .....  
ಲಸ್ವಜ.....ಬಂದಾಳುಗಳ ಕಲಿನಾಯ
೯. ಕ.....ಜಿದು.....ರಿಪು.....
೧೦. ....

೧೧. ....

೧೨. ....

೧೩. ಯ ಪಾದಾ.....ದೊ.....ಕ ಮನ ನೆತ್ತಿ ಕೊಂಡೊಲವಿಂ.....ನ

### Translation

. . . . ma Sāhapi of great valour was famous on account of his father Kambaya Sāhapi, on account of his mother Holliyarāṅgane, on account of his brother-in-law Kambaya Mādhava Sāhapi, on account of his brother, the lord Laxmaṇa and on account of . . . . the (elephant) goad to the warriors.

Being born thus and being the abode of fame.

When king Kali Kāla invaded the countries of the proud inimical tributaries one after another for the conquest of all the quarters, he immediately followed (the Kali Kāla king) to take possession of the goddess of victory who had followed another . . . .

No. 15

### Tarakēśvara Temple Viragal of Kāma-dēva

The viragal is at the Tarakēśvara temple, Fort, Hangal, Dharwar District. Deciphered and translated by Prof. K. G. Kundangar.

#### Text

೧. ನಮಸ್ತುಂಗ ಸಿರಶ್ಚಿಂಬಿ ಚಂದ್ರ ಚಾಮರ ಚಾರವೇ | ತ್ರೈಲೋಕ್ಯ ನಗ ರಾರಂಭ ಮೂಲಸ್ತಂಭಾಯ ಸಂಭವೇ || ಸ್ತುತಿ ಸಮರ್ಥಿತ ಪಂಚ ಮಹಾಶಬ್ದ
೨. ಮಹಾಮಂಡಲೇಶ್ವರ ಬನವಾಸಿ ಪುರವಾರಾಧೀಶ್ವರಂ ಜಯಂತಿ ಮಧು ಕೇಶ್ವರ ದೇವಲಬ್ಧ ವರಪ್ರಸಾದಂ ವ್ಯಗ ಮದಾ
೩. ನೋದ ಹರೆ ಧರಣಿ ಪ್ರಸೂತ ಚತುವಾಸೀತಿ ನಗರಾಧಿಪ್ತ್ಯಂತಂ ಲಲಾಟ ಲೋಚನ ಚತುರ್ಭುಜಂ ಸಸಾಖಾಚ
೪. ರೇಂದ್ರ ಧ್ವಜ ವಿರಾಜಮಾನ ಮಾನೋತ್ತಮಂ ಸಿಂಹಲಾಂಚ್ಛನಂ ಮ ಯೂರವಮ್ಮ ವಂಶಾಂಬರದ್ವಿಮುಣಿಯರ್ಥಿ ಜನ ಚಿಂತಾ
೫. ಮಣಿ ಸಾಹಸೋತ್ತಮಂ ಸರಸಸಂಗೀತ ಗೋಷ್ಠಿ ಪ್ರಸಂಗ ಕಾದಂಬ ಕುಳ ಕಮಳ ಮಾತೃಂಡ ಕದನ ಪ್ರಚಂಡ ಭುಜಬಳಭೇಮನುಂ ಮೈಂ ಮಂಡಳೇ

೬. ಕಫಣಿ ಮೈನತೇಯನುಂ ಸತ್ಯ ರಾಧೇಯನುಂ ಸಾಹಸೋತ್ತುಂಗ ರರ  
ಣಾಗತ ವಜ್ರಪ್ರಾಕಾರವೆನಿಪ ಕಲಿಗಳಂಕುಸ ಕಾಮದೇವರಸನು  
ಹಾನುಂಗಲ್ಲನೆ
೭. ಲೇವೀಡಿನೊಳು ಸುಖಸಂಕಥಾ ವಿನೋದದೊಳು ರಾಜ್ಯಂಗೆಯ್ಯುತ್ತ  
ಮಿರೆ. ತತ್ಸಾದ ಪದ್ಯೋಪಜೀವಿ ಸಾಹಜಾದಿತ್ಯನತಿವಿಷಮಹಯಾ
೮. ರೂಢಪ್ರೌಢ ರೇವಂತನುಂ ಪವಾರಕುಳಕಮಳಿನೀಮಾತ್ರ್ಪಂಡನುಂ  
ಕದನ ಪ್ರಚಂಡನುಂ ಮಚ್ಚರಿಪಸಾ
೯. ಹಣೆಯರ ನೆತ್ತಿಯ ಶೂಲದೋರ್ಧ್ವಂಡಂ ಸಾಹಣಿ ಪ....ನೆ. ನಲಿಯ  
ಚಂಡಂ.....ಪಸಾಲ.....ಯರ ಗಂಟಲ ಗಾಳಂ
೧೦. ಶಾಂಡವಾಪಣಿಯ.....ಗ.....ಸಿರ.....ನಿದಾನ ಗೋತ್ರ  
ಚಿಂತಾಮಣಿಮಂಡಳೀಕಾ.....
೧೧. ....ದಳರಣರಂಗ ತೂದ್ರಕನ.....  
ನಾಯಕಗ.....ದಯ ಸೌ.....
೧೨. ಕಾಮದೇ.....ದಧ...ನಳ ಸಂ(ವ)ತ್ಸರ ಕಾರ್ತಿಕ ಬಹುಳ ಮಂಗಳ  
ವಾರದಂದು || ಶ್ರೀಮತು ಹೊಯಸಣ ಬಲ್ಲಾಳದೇ(ವರ)ಸರ.....
೧೩. ಬ್ರಬಂದು....ತ್ತಿಲ ಮರೆಗೆ ತಯಿಲು.....
೧೪. ಗಾವಳಿ ಜೋರನೆಣ...ಲಾವಗಿಯಾದ.....ರ.....ಕು  
.....ನೀಕ.....ದಸು.....ಯಾಂತು
೧೫. ....ತ್ತುಪೊಯಲು
೧೬. ಪಿರಿದುಂ ರಣ ಸಾ.....ವೆತ್ತು.....ಗಹಿ.....ಪಂತಿಗುಮಾ  
ದುರು.....ಯನಾದಿ ಸಾಹ.....ದರಿ.....ತರಿ ಸೊನಿದ
೧೭. ಸಿರಿಯಂ ನುತ...ಸುರಕಾಂತೆಯರೊಡೆಯಂ.....ಜಿತ.....  
ಭೂತಲಂ ಅಮಲ ನಾ.....ಕ್ಷಣಿ.....ಸ.....ಕಾಯಿಕಾ.....  
ರಾಮರಣಿ ರಣಿ.

*Translation*

1. A bow to Śambhu, who is adorned with a chāmara in the form of the moon that kisses his lofty head, and who is the prime pillar at the building of the city of the three worlds.

2-7. While the hero Kāmdēvarasa—who had attained pancha-mahā-śabda, and the title Mahā-maṇḍalēśvara, the supreme lord of Banavāsi

the best of cities, he who had acquired the excellent favour of the god Jayanti-Madhukēśvara, he who had the perfume of musk, he who presided over eighty-four cities born of the earth, he who had an eye in his forehead, he who had four arms, he who possessed the noble signet of a lion which was made resplendent by the banner of the chief of monkeys, he who was a jewel in the ocean of the family of Mayūravarma, he who was the desire-yielding gem to (good) men, he who was eminent for his enterprises, he who was the very pleasing Vasanta, he who offers gifts (alms) to mendicants, he who was the sun to the lotus of the family of the Kādambas, he who was terrific in battles, he who was Bhīma in respect of the power of his arms, he who was Vainatēya (the king of birds) to the serpents of the intoxicated tributaries, he who was speaking the truth and truth only, he who was the adamantine rampart to those who seek his shelter, was governing at his capital of Hānuṃgal with the recreation of pleasing conversation, the dependent on his lotus feet Sāhaṇāditya.

8-11. The great horseman, the sun . . . . . terrific at the battle-field, the head piercing spear to the malicious (tributaries), the neck strangler of . . . . . the desire-yielding gem to his family, . . . .

12. Kāmadēva. On (Tues)day the . . . . . day of the second fortnight of Pausya in Nala Samvatsara of Vikrama varsha, . . . . the glorious . . . . .

13. . . . . champion of constancy . . . . .
14. Dacoits having scaled the house with rope ladders . . . . .
15. . . . .
16. Having fought overcame the danger . . . . .
17. Attained prosperity and the heavenly damsels . . . . .

No. 16

### Hāṅgal Viragal of Kāma-dēva

This viragal is on the left side of the road leading to the Tarakēśvara temple at Hāṅgal, Dharwar District. Deciphered and translated by Prof. K. G. Kundangar.

*Text*

ನಮಸ್ತುಂಗ.....ಶಂಭವೇ ಸ್ತುತಿಸಮರ್ಥಿತ ಮಹಾಮಂಡಳೇಶ್ವರ ಬನ  
ನಾಸಿಪುರವರಾಧೀಶ್ವರಂ ಜಯಂತಿ ಮಧುಕೇಶ್ವರ ದೇವಲಬ್ಧವರಪ್ರಸಾದಂ ಮೃಗ

ಮದಾಮೋದಂ ಹರಧರಣೀಪ್ರಸೂತ ಚತುರಾಸೀತಿ ನಗರಾಧಿಷ್ಟಿತಂ ಲಲಾಟಲಾಂ  
 ಭನ ಚತುರ್ಭುಜಂ ಸಸಾಖಾಚರೇಂದ್ರಧ್ವಜ ವಿರಾಜಮಾನ ಮಾನೋತ್ತುಂಗ ಹಿಂಹ  
 ಲಾಂಛನಂ ಮಯೂರವರ್ಮ ವಂಶಾಂಬರದ್ಯಮಥ ಅರ್ಥಜನಚಿಂತಾಮಥ ಸಾಹ  
 ಸೋತ್ತುಂಗ ಸರಸಸಂಗೀತ ಗೋಷ್ಟಿ ಪ್ರಸಂಗ ಕಾದಂಬ ಕುಳಕಮಳಮಾ  
 ತಾಂಡಂ ಕದನಪ್ರಚಂಡಂ ಭುಜಬಳ ಭೀಮನುಂ ಮೈರಿಮಂಡಳಕ ಪನ್ನಗ ಮೈನ  
 ತೇಯನುಂ ಸತ್ಯ ರಾಧೇಯನುಂ ಸಾಹಸೋತ್ತುಂಗ ಶರಣಾಗತ ವಜ್ರ ಸ್ತಾಕಾರ  
 ಮೈನಪ ಕಲಿಗಳಂಕುಶ ಕಾಮದೇವರಸನು ಹಾನುಂಗಲ್ಲನೆಲಿವೀಡಿನೊಳು ಸುಖಸಂ  
 ಕಥಾವಿನೋದದಿಂ ರಾಜ್ಯಂ ಗ್ರಿಯುತ್ತಮಿರೆ || ತತ್ಪಾದ ಪದ್ಮೋಪಜೀವಿ ಸಾಹಸಾ  
 ದಿಹ್ಯನತಿವೀರಯಾರೂದಪ್ರೌಢ?.....ತನುಂ ಪವಾರಕುಳಕಮಳನೀ  
 ಮಾತಾಂಡನುಂ ಕದನಪ್ರಚಂಡನುಂ ಮಚ್ಚುರಪ ಸಾಹಣಿಯರನೆತ್ತಿಯಶೂಲ  
 .....ದಂಡ ಸಾಹಣಿ ಪನ್ನಗ ಮೈನತೇಯನುಂದೆದಿಸಿಪ ಸಾಹಣಿಯರಗಂಡಂ  
 ಲಗ್ನಾಳ.....ತಾಂಡಂ ಸಾಹಣಿಯರಗಂಡಂ.....ಸುಜನನಿದಾನ  
 ಗೋತ್ರ ಚಿಂತಾಮಥ ಮಂಡಳಕ.....ರಣರಂಗ ಶೂದ್ರಕನು ಮೈನಿಸಿದ ಪಟ್ಟ  
 ಸಾಹಣಿನೆನ್ನಯ ಸಾಹಣಿ.....ನಳಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಆಶ್ವಿಜಬಹುಳ? ಮಂಗಳವಾರ  
 ದಂದು ಶ್ರೀಮತು ಹೊಯ್ಸಾಳಬಲ್ಲಾಳದೇವನು ಹಾನುಂಗಲ್ಲಬಂದು ಮುತ್ತಲ ಕೇರಿ  
 ಗೇರಿಯೊಳು ಬೀಡಂಬಿಟ್ಟು ಆನೆಮೋಹಕಮಂನೂಂಕೆ ಕಾದುತ್ತಿರೆ.....ಯ  
 .....ಸಾಹಣಿಪ.....ನ ಪ್ರತಾಪಮೆಂತೆಂದಡೆ || ವೃ || ಕರಿಪುಟ್ಟ(?) ಯೊತ್ತೆ  
 ವೀರಭದ್ರರಾವಳಿ ಭೋರನೆ ಸುತ್ತಲಾರಿಗಂ.....ತೂರ.....ಹೋಹರ.....  
 ನೂಕುಮೆ ದಾಂತು ವೀರನುಕರಿಪುಡಿಯಾತು ಪಿರಿದುಂ ರಣಸೋಡವೆತ್ತುದೇನಚ್ಚರಿಯೊ  
 || ಕಂ || ಸುತ್ತಿರಿದು ಮೆರಿದುರಣದೊಳ್ || ನೆತ್ತರಲೋಕುಳಯನಾಡಿ ಸಾಹಣಿಪ  
 ದಮಂ | ಬಿತ್ತರಿಸಿವೀರಸಿರಿಯಂ | ನು.....ರೆಸುರ ಕಾಂತೆಯರ್ಕಳು ಯ.....  
 ಲುಪಾದಂ || ಕಂದ || ಜಿತೇನಲಭ್ಯತೇಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀಃ ವೃತೇನಾದಿ(?) ಸುರಾಂಗನಾ ಗವಾ  
 ಸ್ತವಿಧಂ.....ಕಾಚಿಂತಾಮರಣೀ ರಣೀ ||

### Translation

A bow to Sambhu, etc. Hail ! While (the elephant) goad to warriors  
 Kāmadēvarasa was reigning with an entertainment of happy and pleasant  
 conversation at his capital Hānuṅgal, Kādevarasa who had attained  
 Pañchamahāśabda, who was a mahā-maṇḍalēśvara, who was the supreme  
 lord of the best of cities Banavāsi, who had obtained the favour of Jayariti  
 Madhukēśvara, who had the fragrance of musk, who was at the head of  
 eighty-four towns born of earth (with the favour of) Hara, who had an  
 eye on the forehead, who had four arms, who was shining with a banner  
 on which was displayed the mark of a monkey, who had an emblem of  
 a lion, who was the sun to the sky in the form of the line of Mayūravarma,  
 the desire-yielding jewel to the mendicants, who was powerful in enter-  
 prises, who was entertaining himself in sweet talk and singing, who was  
 the sun to the race of the Kādambas, who was terrific in battles, who was

a Bhīma in the power of arms, who was a Garuḍa to the serpents in the form of his enemies, who was Rādheya (Karna) in truthfulness, who was powerful in enterprises and who was an adamantine rampart to those who sought his shelter.

The dependent on his lotus-like feet ;

On Tuesday the . . . . day of the dark half of Āśvija of Nala Sarinvatsara Sāhanāditya . . . . the sun to the lotus-like race of . . . . who was terrific at the battle, who a head piercing sharp spear to the malicious Sāhanis, and who was a Garuḍa to the serpents in the form of Sāhanis, the enemy of the Sāhanis, who was a sun to the soldiers besieging a fort, who was a shelter to the good, who was a desire-yielding tree in his race, who was a Śūdraka in his battle with the tributaries, and who was born of the race of Paṭṭa-Sāhani . . . .

While the glorious Hoysaḷa Ballāla-dēva, having come to Hānuṅgal, and having encamped at Muttala-Keregēri, was fighting having marched his forces of elephants.

The valour of . . . . Sāhani is described thus :—

Having fought on all sides of the battle-field, having spilt blood profusely on all sides, and having exhibited the pomp of his valour and the position of Sāhanis, he died becoming the sweetheart of the heavenly damsels.

Wealth and splendour are obtained with success in war and heavenly damsels with death ; . . . . why, therefore, worry about the death on the battle-field ?

No. 17

### Tarakeśvara Temple Inscription of Tōyima-dēva or Taila I

The inscription is on the pedestal of the pillar (right side) on the way to the Navaranga of the Tarakeśvara temple, Hāngal, Dharwar District. Deciphered by Messrs. G. Bengeri and S. M. Karajgi and translated by Prof. K. G. Kundangar.

*Text*

ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ತ್ರೀಮತು ಕಾದಂಬ ಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿ ಕಲಿಗಲಂಕುಶವೀರ ಸೋ (ಸಾ ?  
ನೋ ?) ಯ (ನಿ ?) ದೇವ ವರುಷದ ಖನೆಯ ವಿಕಾರಿ ಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಫಾಲ್ಗುಣ ಶು|| ೫

ಬ್ರಹ್ಮಕೃತಿವಾರದಂದು ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ನೇಲೇಶ್ವರದೇವರಾಜಾರ್ಯ ರಾಜಗುರು ಅಮರೇಶ್ವರ ದೇವರು ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ನಾಶ್ರುಭುವಿಭುಗಳಾದಿತ್ಯ ಬೊಮ್ಮಗೌಂಡಂಗೆ ತಮ್ಮ ಸೇವೋ (ಬೊ ?)ಳಲ ಗೌಡ ಕೇರಿಳ್ಳೋಗು ತೇಜೋನಿಧಿದೇವರಿಗಂ ಪಿರಿಯ ಬೊಮ್ಮಗೌಂಡಂ ಗಂ ಮೆನಕ್ಷತವಾಗಿಯೆ ವೃತ್ತಿಯಂತರಿಸಿದ್ದಲ್ಲಿ ಬೊಮ್ಮಗೌಡನು ಅಮರೇಶ್ವರದೇವರ ಚಿತ್ತವ(?)ನ ರಾಜ್ಯದ ಸೇವೆಯಂ ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಹಾ (ಪಾ ? ಹ ?)ಡದ ಶ್ರೀಮದನಾದಿ ಪಟ್ಟಣ ಹಾನುಂಗಲ್ ಚಿಕ್ಕೇಶ್ವರದೇವರಾಜಾರ್ಯ ವಾಗೀಶ್ವರದೇವರಂ ಬಿಲ್ಲೇಶ್ವರ ದೇವರಾಜಾರ್ಯ ಚಂದ್ರಭೂಷಣದೇವರಂ ಅಲ್ಲಿಯೆ ನಗರಮಂ ಮಾರಿದಂ ಪಂ(?) ಗಳುಂ ಶ್ರೀಮದನಾದಿಪಟ್ಟಣಂ ಬಂಕಾಪುರದ ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ನಗರೇಶ್ವರದೇವರ ಆಚಾರ್ಯ ರಾಜಗುರು ವಿರ್ಮಶಕ್ತಿದೇವರುಂ ಸರಿಯಂಗಲ್ಲ ಮಹಾಜನಂಗಳುಂ ನೀರಲಿಯ ಮಹಾಜನಂಗಳುಂ ಬೆಳುವಂತಿಯ ಮಹಾಜನಂಗಳುಂ ಬೆಳುಗಾಲಿಯ ಮಹಾಜನಂ ಗಳುಂ ಆಲೂರ ಮಹಾಜನಂಗಳುಂ ಹಿರಿಮಾ (ಉ ?) ತಾಯಿಯಮಗೌಂಡನುಂ ಬಾಳೂರ ಭರತಗೌಂಡನುಂ ದೋಳೇಶ್ವರ ವೀರಗೌಂಡನುಂ ಹರಿರಾಣಾದ ಚಿನ್ನ ಗೌಂಡನುಂ ಬಾಡದ ಯಕ್ಕಮಗೌಂಡನುಂ ಅಂದಣಿಯೆ ಕಲ್ಲಗೌಂಡನುಂ ನಿಡು ಗುಂದಿಯ ಸಮಸ್ತ ಪ್ರಜೆ ಪಿ (ಹಿ ?) ಟ್ಪುಕಾರರುಂ ಆನೆಬಾಳ ಪ್ರಜೆ ಪಿ (ಹಿ ?) ಟ್ಪುಕಾ ರರುಂ ಇನ್ನಿವರ ಸಮಕ್ಷದಲ್ಲಿ ಆನೆಬಾಳ (ಆಸೆಪೊಳಲ ?) ಗೌಡಿಕೆಯೆವೃತ್ತಿಯ ಅಷ್ಟಭೋಗಕೆ ತೇಜಸಾಮ್ಯಸಹಿತವಾಗಿ ಬೊಮ್ಮಗೌಂಡನು ಪಡೆದನು. ಮಂಗಳ ಮಹಾ. ಶ್ರೀ ಶ್ರೀ

### Translation

On Thursday the 5th day of the bright half of Fālguna of Vikāri Samvatsara, the 5th year of the brave and glorious emperor of the Kādamba race Sovidēva, the elephant goad to the warriors.

When the royal preceptor Amarēśvara-dēva the worshipper of the glorious (god) Nalēśvara granted permanent maintenance to Bommagaunḍa, the prosperous lord of the country and the sun to the lords, to the god, the store of brightness, and the famous one in the village of Gauḍakēri, and to Piriya Bommagaunḍa.

Bommagaunḍa built a city there only having given the auspicious rice of worship to Amarēśvaradēva and joining hands with Vagīśvaradēva the worshipper of Chikkēśvaradēva of the ancient city of Hāngal, Chandrabhushanadēva the worshipper of Billēśvaradēva.

Bommagaunḍa obtained the maintenance of the village-headmanship of Ānebāla along with its eight sorts of rights of enjoyment and ownership in the presence of Virmaśaktidēva, the royal preceptor and the preceptor of the glorious Nagarēśvara of Baṅkāpura the oldest city, the worthies of Nareyangal, the worthies of Nīrali, the worthies of Beluvanti, the worthies of Belugali, the worthies of Ālūr, Yamagaunḍa of Hirimatāyi, Bharata-gaunḍa of Bālūra, Viragaunḍa of Dholēśvara, Chennagaunḍa of

Harirāṇa, Yakkamagaṇḍa of Bāḍa, Kalla-gaṇḍa of Andanige, all the people and *pittukars* of Niḍugunḍi and of Ānebāla.

No. 18

### Mādhava Image Inscription

The inscription is on the pedestal of the image at the Mādhava temple, Hāṅgal, Dharwar District. Deciphered and translated by Prof. K. G. Kundangar.

#### Text

೧. ಶ್ರೀ ಜಯತು ಪಕ .... ಪುತ್ನೊಂದನೆಯ
೨. ನಿಭವ ಸಂವರ್ಧರದ ವಯಿಕಾಖ
೩. ಶು ೧೦ ವ ಮಾಧವ ದೇವರ ಶ್ರೀಮೂ
೪. ತೀಯ ಹಾವಣಿಗೆಯ ಚಂದಾಪ
೫. (ಮಾಡಿ)ದ ಮಂಗಳ ಮಹಾ ಶ್ರೀ ಶ್ರೀ

#### Translation

May victory attend ! May great auspiciousness attend on the flower pedestal of the image of the god Mādhava, caused to be made on the 10th day of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha of the Vibhava the 71st (probably) year !

No. 19

### Hāvēri Inscription of Taila II

The inscription is at the Siddhēśvara temple at Hāvēri, Dharwar District. Deciphered by Mr. S. M. Karajgi and translated by the Mysore Archaeological Department.

#### Text

೧. ನಮಸ್ತುಂಗ ತಿರಶ್ಚುಂಬಿ ಚಂದ್ರಚಾಮರ ಚಾರವೆ । ತ್ರೈಲೋಕ್ಯನಗರಾ  
ರಂಭ ಮೂಲಪ್ತಂಭಾಯ ಶಂಭವೆ ಶ್ರೀ ಶ್ರೀಮಹರ್ವತಪುತ್ರಿಕಾ ಪ್ರಿಯ  
ತನುಂ ದೇವೇಂದ್ರವೃಂದಾನತಾ । ವಾಮಾಳಂಕೃತಪಾದಪದ್ಮ
೨. ಯುಗಳಂ ಕಾರುಣ್ಯದಿಂ ಪಾವರೆ । ಗ್ರಾಮಾಧೀಶ ಚತುಶ್ಚತೋತ್ತಮ  
ಧರಾದೇವರ್ಗಭೀಷ್ಣಾರ್ಥಮಂ । ಸೋಮೋ
೩. ತ್ವಂಪನ ನಿಂದ್ಯನೀಂಗೆ ಪದಪಿಂ ಸಿದ್ಧೇಶ್ವರಂ ಶಾಶ್ವತಂ । ಸುರದನುಜ  
ಮನುಜವಿದ್ಯಾ । ಧರ ಕಿನ್ನರ ಪೂಜಿತಾಮೃತ ಪದ

೪. ಯುಗಳಂ ನಾ | ಲ್ಲೂರ್ವರಿಗೆ ಪದಪಿಂದ ಮಿಂದ್ರೇ | ಶ್ವರದೇವಕುಂಡುಗೆ ಸಕಳ ಸುಖಸಂಪದಮಂ ||
೫. ಶ್ರೀಮಚ್ಚಾಳುಕೃತಂಶಲಲಾನುಂ ಸೋಮೇಶ್ವರ ದೇವೇಶ್ವರನಧಟಿಂದೀ ಮಹಿಯಂ ವಿಜಯ ಭುಜ
೬. ಶ್ರೀಮಂಡನಮಾಗೆ ತಾಲ್ಪಿದಂ ನೃಪತಿಳಕಂ | ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಸ್ತಭುವನಾತ್ರಯ ಶ್ರೀಶೈ
೭. ಧ್ವೀವಲ್ಲಭ ಮಹಾರಾಜಾಧಿರಾಜ ಪರಮೇಶ್ವರ ಪರಮಭಟ್ಟಾರಕ ಸತ್ಯಾ ಶ್ರಯಕುಳತಿಳಕ ಚಾ
೮. ಲುಕ್ಯಾಭರಣಂ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ಸರ್ವಜ್ಞ ಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿ ಭೂಲೋಕಮಲ್ಲ ದೇವರ ವಿಜಯರಾಜ್ಯ ಮುತ್ತುರೋ
೯. ತ್ವರಾಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಪ್ರವರ್ಧಮಾನಮಾಚಂದ್ರಾರ್ಕತಾರಂ ಬರಂ ಸಲುತ್ವಮಿರೆ ತತ್ಪಾದ ಪದ್ಮೋಪಜೀವಿ || ವೃ || ಹರಧರಣೀಪ್ರಸೂತ ಕುಳಮಂಡನ ನುದ್ದತವೀರವೈರಿಕೇ | ಸರಿ ನರಪಾಲಜಾಲಕ ತಿರೋಮ | ಣಿ ವಾನರ ಚಿಹ್ನಬಂ
೧೦. ಧುರ ವಿವಿಧ ಧ್ವಜೋಜ್ವಲ ಕದಂಬಕುಳಾಭರಣಂ ಜಯಾಂಗನಾವರಣೆ ಸಿದಂ ಸಮ | ಸ್ತಧರೆ ಬಂಣಿ
೧೧. ಸೆ ಕೈಲಪದೇವಭೂಭುಜಂ | ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಧಿಗತ ಪಂಚಮಹಾಶಬ್ದ ಮಹಾ ಮಂಡಲೇಶ್ವ | ರಂ ಬನವಾ
೧೨. ಸಿಪುರವರಾಧೀಶ್ವರ ಜಯಂತಿ ಮಧುಕೇಶ್ವರದೇವ ವರಪ್ರಸಾದಂ ಸಹಜ ಮೃಗಮದಾ ಮೋ | ದಂ
೧೩. ತ್ರೈಕಷ್ಣಿಕ್ ಸಂಭವಂ ಚತುರಾಶೀತಿ ನಗರಾಧಿಸ್ಥಿತಲಲಾಟಲೋಚನ ಚತುರ್ಭುಜಂ ಜಗದ್ವಿದಿತಾಸ್ವಾದಶಾ
೧೪. ಶ್ವಮೇಧ ಯಜ್ಞದೀಕ್ಷಾದೀಕ್ಷಿತಂ ಹಿಮವದ್ಧೀಂದ್ರರುಂದ್ರತಿಖರ ಸಂ ಸ್ಥಾಪಿತ ಸ್ಥಟಿಕಶಿಲಾಸ್ತಂಭಬದ್ಧ ಮದಗಜ
೧೫. ಮಹಾಮಹಿಮಾಭಿರಾಮ ಕದಂಬಚಕ್ರಿಮಯೂರವರ್ಮ ಮಹಾಮಹೀ ಪಾಲಕುಳಭೂ | ಪ
೧೬. ಣಂ ವೆರ್ಮಟ್ಟಿತೂರ್ಯನಿಗ್ನೋಷಣಂ ಶಾಖಾಚರೇಂದ್ರಧ್ವಜ ವಿರಾಜ ಮಾನ ಮಾನೋಹ್ತುಂಗ ಸಿಂಹಲಾಂಭನಂ
೧೭. ದತ್ತಾರ್ಥಿಕಾಂಚನಂ ಸಮರಜಯಕಾರಣಂ ಕದಂ (ರ ?) ಬರಾಭರಣಂ ಮಾರ್ಕೋಳ್ವರಗಂಡಂ ಪ್ರ
೧೮. ತಾಪನಾತಾಂಡಂ | ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ರಿಭುವನ ಮಲ್ಲದೇವ ಸಾದಾರಾಧಕಂ ಪರಬಳಸಾಧಕ ನಾನಾದಿಸಮಸ್ತ ಪ್ರಶಸ್ತಿಪಹಿತಂ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ಪ್ರೈ

೧೯. ಲಪದೇವರಸರ್ವಪವಸೆ ಪನ್ನಿಚ್ಚಾರಿಸಿರಮುಮಂ ನಾಡಸಾಂತಳಗೆ  
ಸಾಯಿರಮುಮಂಪಾನುಂಗಲೈನೂರು
೨೦. ಮಂತ್ರಿಭೋಗಾಭ್ಯಂತರಸಿದ್ಧಿಯನಾಳ್ವರಸುಗೈಯುತ್ತಮಿರೆ || ವೃ || ಬಳ  
ವತ್ತೈಲಪದೇವಭೂಪನ ಮಹಾ |
೨೧. ಮಾತೃಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಮಂ ಸದ್ಗುಣಾಕಳಿತಂ ಪೆರ್ಗ್ಗಡೆ ನಾಗದೇವವಿಭು ತತ್ಸಂ  
ಕಾಧಿಪೋಭಾತಿ ನಿ | ಮಳಳಿತ್ತಂ ವಿಭುಕೇಶಿರಾ
೨೨. ಜನುಮವರ್ಧಮರ್ಜ್ಜರಾತ್ರಿಯ ಕೀರ್ತಿಲತಾವೇಷ್ಟಿತದೀರ್ಘನಿಕಾಯ  
ರೆಸೆದರ್ ವಿಶ್ವಂಭರಾಚಕ್ರದೊಳು ||—ವೃ || ಆ
೨೩. ....! ಬಳಕಂ ವಿದ್ಯಾಪ್ರವರಂ ವಿಭುಕೇಶಿರಾಜನುಂ ಸಕಳಗುಣೋ  
ಧ್ವನನೆನಿಪ ಸುಂಕವೆಗ್ಗಡೆ ಭುವನಪ್ರಭೀತಕೇತನಾ |
೨೪. ಯಕನು ಮೆಸೆದರ್ | ಸ್ಪಸ್ತಿಪಮಸ್ತಪ್ರಶಸ್ತಿಪಹಿತಂ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ಪೆರ್ಗಡೆ ನಾಗ  
ದೇವವ್ಯನಾಯಕನು.....ರಾಜ್ಯ |
೨೫. ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ತೈಲಪದೇವರಸರಬೆಸದಿ ಬನ್ನ[ವಸೆ]ನಾಡ ಪೆರ್ಜುಂಕ ವಡ್ಡರಾವುಳಂ  
ಬಿರ್ಕೊಡೆಯೆಂದಿಂತಿವಂತ್ರಿ |
೨೬. ಭೋಗಾನ್ವಯಸಿದ್ಧಿ | ಯಿಂದಾಳ್ವನುಭವಿಸುತ್ತಮಿರೆ || ವೃ || ಅಮಿತದ್ವೀ  
ಪಾಲ್ಚಿ ನೇಳಾವಳಯತ ಧರಣೀ ಭಾರದೊಳ್ ಕುಂತಳೊಲ್ಲ
೨೭. ಮಹೀ | ಸಂಸೇವ್ಯಮಾಕುಂತಳ ವಸುಧೆಗಳಂಕಾರಮೀತೆಂಕನಾದರ್ಥ  
ಮನೋಜ್ಞಾಖ್ಯಾತಮಪ್ಯಾಹತಮೆನಿಸಿಸರ
೨೮. ಸ್ನೇಹ್ಯನೀರೇಜ ನಾನಾ
೨೯. ಕಮನೀಯೋದ್ಯಾನದಿ ನಾಡಾವಯಿಸೆ ಸುಖದೊಳಾದೇವತಾರಮ್ಯ  
ಹರ್ಯಂ
೩೦. ಆ ಗ್ರಾಮದ ಪೂರ್ವದಕ್ಷಿಣದಿಗ್ಭಾಗದೊಳು || ವೃ || ಬರೆವಂ ನಾಲ್ಕು |  
ಪೂರ್ವರುಂ

### Translation

Line 1 : *Invocation to god Sambhu.*—Salutation to Sambhu, who is beautiful with the fly-flap that is the moon kissing his lofty head and who is the foundation-pillar of the city of the triple world.

Lines 1-3 : *Invocation to god Siddhesvara of the village Pāvāra (Haveri).*—May god Siddhēśvara, beloved of Pārvati and whose lotus feet are adorned with the heads of the chiefs of gods bowing before them, beneficently grant, at all times, the desires of the four hundred good Brahmans who are the lords of the village Pāvāra.

Lines 3-4 : *Invocation to god Indresvara.*—May god Indrēśvara whose nectar-like feet are worshipped by gods, demons, men, Vidyādhara, and Kinnaras confer all happiness on the Four Hundred.

Lines 5-6 : 6-9 : *Praise and Titles of Chalukya king Somesvara.*—King Somēśvara, an ornament to the illustrious Chalukya race bore the earth with valour as an ornament to his victorious arms : Be it well : While a refuge to all the worlds, favourite of fortune and earth, mahārājādhirāja, paramēśvara, parama-bhaṭṭāraka (chief lord), ornament to the family of Satyāśraya, jewel of the Chalukyas, the illustrious Sarvajna-chakravarti (the all-knowing emperor) Bhūṭaka-malladēva's victorious kingdom was prospering to endure as long as moon, sun and stars last :—

Lines 9-20 : *Praise and titles of Kadamba king Tailapadeva, ruler of the kingdoms Banavase, Santalige and Panungal.*—A dependent on his lotus feet, an ornament to the family sprung from god Śiva and earth (see E. C. VIII Shikarpur 117), a lion to brave and haughty enemies, a crest-jewel to the assemblage of kings, beautiful with the crest of the monkey, and brilliant on account of various flags, an ornament to Kadamba family, lover of the damsel victory, king Tailapadēva prospered praised by the whole earth. Be it well : While the obtainer of the band of five instruments, mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, lord of the excellent city of Banavāsi, obtainer of boons from the god Madhūkēśvara of Jayanti (another name of the town Banavāsi), having a natural fragrance of musk, born from Śiva and earth, ruler over 84 cities and having an eye on forehead and four arms (or consecrator of gods Śiva and Vishṇu in 84 cities), engaged in the performance of 18 world-famous horse-sacrifices, glorious on account of rutting elephants tied to posts of crystal set up on the top of the Himālaya mountains, an ornament to the race of Kadamba emperor Mayūravarmma, having a musical instrument permatti sounded before him, having the monkey flag and lofty lion crest, bestower of gold to supplicants, ever victorious in battle, ornament to Kadambas, champion over opponents, a sun in brilliance, worshipper of the feet of the illustrious Tribhuvanamalladēva, destroyer of hostile forces, possessed of all these and other titles, the illustrious Tailapadēva ruled over Vanavase Twelve-thousand, Sāntaligenāḍ Thousand and Pānungal Five-hundred (provinces) in hereditary succession from his grandfather and father :—

Lines 20-26 : *Praise and titles of Pergade Nagadeva and Kesiraja, an officer of customs and Ketanayaka, sunḥaveggade (a minor officer of customs), dependent of king Tailapa.*—The chief minister of the mighty Tailapadēva is the virtuous Perggaḍe Nāgadēva. The chief of customs under him is the pure-minded lord Kēśirāja. Well-versed in righteousness, and

surrounded by the ever-spreading creeper of their fame they distinguished themselves in the world . . . . The learned Kēśirāja prospered along with the virtuous *sunka-veggade* (an officer of customs) Kētanāyaka, feared by the earth. Be it well. While possessed of these attributes, the illustrious perggade Nāgadēvayyanāyaka was enjoying by the order of king Tailapadēvarasa, supreme authority over *perjunke* (major tolls), *vaḍḍarāvula* (chief tolls?) and *birkode* (a kind of tax called also *bilkode* in some inscriptions cp. Shikarpur 104 E. C. VIII) in Banavase-nāḍ in hereditary succession :—

Lines 26-30: *Praise of Tenkanādu*.—In this earth surrounded by numberless islands and seas, Kuṇṭala (province) deserves honour by the whole world. An ornament to Kuṇṭala land is Tenkanād, dear to the supplicants, free from harm, full of beautiful temples, and surrounded by groves beautiful with lotuses in ponds. To the east and south of that village—The writer . . . . Four Hundred. (Here the text of the inscription as sent to this office stops abruptly, the stone being mutilated.)

No. 20

### Rattihalli Inscription of Siṃghana

The inscription is on a pillar in the Kadambēśvara temple at Rattihalli, Dharwar District. Deciphered and translated by Prof. K. G. Kundangar.

#### Text

೧. ನಮಸ್ತುಂಗ ಶಿರಶ್ಚುಂಬಿ ಚಂದ್ರಜಾಮರ ಚಾರವೆ ತ್ರೈಲೋಕ್ಯನಗರಾ  
ರಂಭ ಮೂಲಸ್ತಂಭಾಯ ಶ.....॥
೨. ಯಾಥವ ಕುಲಾಬ್ಧಿ ಚಂದ್ರಂ ಕಾದಂಬಕುಳಾರಿಯೆನಿಸ ಸಿಂಘರಾಯಂ
೩. ವೈದಿನಿಯನಾಳುತಿಪ್ಪಂ ಗಾದಂ ಸಚಿವಾಗ್ರಗಂಣ್ಯ ನಾರಿಯಮಲ್ಲಂ ॥ ಆತ
೪. ನಕುಲೋಂನತಿಯೆಂತೆಂದಡೆ ॥ ವುಡುಭವಿಸಿದನಂದಾಗಳು ಯದುಕುಲ
೫. ದೊಳುಕ್ರಿಷ್ಣನಂತೆ ಯಾರಿಯ ಬಂಮ್ಮಂಗುದಿಯಸಿದಂ ಪುಂಞಾತ್ಮಂ  
ಸದಮಳನಿಧಿ
೬. ಮಲ್ಲನೆಂಬನಪ್ರತಿಮಲ್ಲಂ ॥ ಆತನ ಸತಿ ರಾಜವೆಗಂ ನೀತಿವಿದಂದೇವ ಹೊಂ
೭. ನಬಂಮಂ ಭೂದಂ ಪ್ಯಾತಿವಿದಂ ಆಚಳೈಯ್ಯಂ ಸಾತಿಸಯೋಕ್ತಿಯೊಳು  
ಪುಟ್ಟ

೮. ದರ್ಶಿಜತನುಜರೂ || ಆವರೋಳಗೆ ಹೊಂಸ ಬಂಮಂ ಶಿವಭಕ್ತವರಪ್ರಸಾ  
 ೯. ದನೆಂದೆನಿಸುತ್ತಂ ಕವಿಗಮುಕಿ ವಾದಿ ವಾಗ್ಮಿಗಳ್ಳ ವನಿವಂಗುಮಿತಮಲ್ಲಿನಾಥನ  
 ದಯದಿಂ |
೧೦. ವ || ಕೊಂಕಣ ಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿ ಬಿರುದಿಂಗದಿಕಂ ಘನರಾಯಸೆಟ್ಟಿಯೊಂ  
 ದಂಕ
೧೧. ದ ಗಂಧವಾರಣನು ದಾನವಿನೋದನು ಗುಪ್ತ ಮೌನಿಕಂಕರ ಪಾದಪದ್ಮ  
 ಮಧು
೧೨. ಪಂ ಪರನಾರಿಸಹೋದರಂಗೆ ನಿಸ್ಸಂಕನ ಹೊನ್ನಬಂಮನೆಣೆಯಾಪ್ತವಿ
೧೩. ಭಾಸದಿ ಭೂತಳಾಗ್ರದೊಳೂ || ಆತನ ಪ್ರಧಾನಂ ಕರಣದ....ಲ್ಲಗುಣ  
 ಣನತಿ
೧೪. ಂತೆಂದಡೆ || ತ್ರೀಕರಣನೇಕಾಯ್ವನಂಜಿ ಮರೆವೊಕ್ಕು ವಿರೋಧಿಯ ನಾಜಿ  
 ರಂಗದೊಳ್ಳುರ
೧೫. ಗದ ಮೇಲ್ಪುತ್ತವತನವೊಲು ರಿಪುವಂ ಪರಿದಟ್ಟಿ ಮುಟುವಂ ಪರಬಳ  
 ಸಾಧಕಾಂಕಧಳ
೧೬. ವಯ್ಯನು ವೀರ್ಯಂಬುಧಿಕರಣದ ಕಲಿಕೊಂಡೆಯರ ಗಂಡರೊಳಾಧಾರ  
 ಭೂತಳಾಗ್ರದೊಳ್ ||
೧೭. ಆತನ ವಿಗಸಲ ಗುಬ್ಬಿಯ ಕಲನ ವಹಿಮೆಯೆಂತೆಂದಡೆ || ಭೂತಹಿತ  
 ಭಾವಣಂಗೆ ನೀತಿಗುಣೊ
೧೮. ದ್ವೈತೆಯೆನಿಪ ಮಾಳವೆಗಂ ತಾಂ ಪ್ಪಾತಿಹರನೆನ್ನಿಧರ್ಮ್ಯಕೃತುರನಿವ  
 ನೆನ್ನಿನೆಗಲ್ಲ ಗುಬ್ಬಿಯ
೧೯. ಕಲಂ || ಅಂತಾತಂ ಸುಂಕವ ನೋಡುತಿರ್ಧ್ವ ಧರ್ಮಪ್ರಸಂಗದಿಂದ
೨೦. ಂಮೂರುಜಾವಿದೇವರ್ಗ್ಗೆ ಬಸಕೆಯ್ದನಾಮುನಿಯ ಪ್ರಭಾವವೆಂತೆಂದಡೆ ||  
 ಕ || ಪಾಪನಗರಂಬ
೨೧. ನಿಷ್ಕಂ ಕೋಪ ಜಿತಂ ಸಕಳಶಾಸ್ತ್ರ ಪರಿಣತನೆಂದೆಂದೀ ಪರಿಯ ಪೊಗಳು  
 ತಿಪ್ಪದು ಶಾಸಾ
೨೨. ನುಗ್ರಹನ ಮೂರು ಜಾವಿಯನೆಲ್ಲಂ || ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿಸಕ ವರ್ಷ ೧೧೬೧ನೆಯ  
 ವಿಳಂಬಿಸಂವತ್ಸರದ
೨೩. ಆಪಾಧ ಸು ೧೫ ಗ್ರಹಣಸಂಕ್ರಮಣದಂದು ಶ್ರೀ ಕಂದಂಬೇಶ್ವರದೇ  
 ವರ್ಗ್ಗೆನಂದಾವಳವ
೨೪. ಂತ್ರಿಗಂಧವನು ಮೂರುಜಾವಿದೇವರ್ಗ್ಗೆ ಗುಬ್ಬಿಯ ಕಲ್ಲಿಯಂ ಪಾದಪ್ರ  
 ಕ್ಷಾಳನಂಗೆಯ್ದು ಧಾರಾ

೨೫. ಪೂರ್ದಕಂ ಮಾಡಿಕೊಟ್ಟ ಹನೊಂದೇರಿನ ಸುಂ ೧೧ ಕವನು ಮಂಗಳ  
ಮಹಾ || ಶ್ರೀ ಶ್ರೀ ಶ್ರೀ ||

೨೬. ವಾಗಿ ಧಾರೆಯನು ಕದಂಬೇಶ್ವರ ದೇವರಿಗೆ ಧಾರಾಪೂರ್ದಕಂ ಮಾಡಿ  
ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಭೂಮಿ ತೆಂಕಣ ಹಾಳ

(On the lower part of the same pillar.)

೧. ದನಾವಿದರ ಕೀಯ ಕೆರೆಯ ಕೆಳಗೆ ತನ್ನಂಬಳಯಾಗಿ ಕಂ ೪೦ ತು ಕದಂ  
ಬೇಶ್ವರಂ
೨. ಸ್ತುತಿ ಶ್ರೀಮನು ಮಹಾಪ್ರಧಾನಂ ಕರಣದ ಕಲ್ಲರಸರು ಅಗ್ನಿಯ ಮಠದ  
ಶ್ರೀ ಮಲ್ಲಿನಾ
೩. ಥ ದೇವರಿಗೆ ಹೇಮಳಂಬಿಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಫಾಗ್ಗುಣ ಮಾಸದ ಅಮವಾಸೆ ಆದಿ  
ವಾರಸೂ
೪. ಯ್ಯಗ್ರಹಣದಂದು ಮೂರುಜಾವಿದೇವರ ಕಾಲಂತೊಳದು ಧಾರಾಪೂ  
ರ್ದಕಂ ಮಾಡಿಕೊ
೫. ಟ್ಪರು ಮತ್ತರು ಎರಡು ಮಲ್ಲಿನಾಥ ದೇವರಿಗೆ ಮೂರು ಹುಣಿಸೆಯಿಂ  
ಬಡಗ
೬. ಲು ಸಿದ್ಧಗಿರಿಗೆ ಹೋದ ಹೆದ್ದಾರಿಯಿಂ ಪಡುವಲು ಮತ್ತರುನಾಲ್ಕು ನೊಗ್ಗ  
ನಹಳ್ಳದಿಂ
೭. ದಂ ಮೂಡಲು ಹೊಸಗೆರೆಯ ಪಡುವಣ ಬಡಗಣ ಕೊಣಲು ಮತ್ತ  
ರೊಂದು ಕೋಡಿ
೮. ವರಪಗಲೂಟದ ಕೆಯ್ಯಿಂದಂ ಬಡಗಲು ಕದಂಬೇಶ್ವರ ದೇವರ ಗೃಹ.....  
ರಿಯ ಕೊಳಂ ನಗೆ
೯. ಗೆ ಹೋದ ಹೆದ್ದಾರಿಯಿಂ ತೆಂಕಲು ಬಸದಿಯ ಕೆಯ್ಯಿಂದಂ ಬಡಗಲು  
ಮತ್ತರೊಂದು ಮ
೧೦. ಗರಿಗೆ ಹೋದ ಹೆದ್ದಾರಿಯಿಂ ಪಡುವಲು ಬ್ರಹ್ಮಪುರಿಯ ಹೊಲದಿಂದ  
ಮೂ
೧೧. ಡಲು ಮಗರಿಯ ಹೊಲನಿಂದಂ ತೆಂಕಲು ಮತ್ತರು ಎರಡು ಕಂಬಂ  
ನಾಲ್ವತ್ತು
೧೨. ಮಲ್ಲಿಕಾರ್ಜುನ ದೇವರ ಮಠದ ಮನೆ ಇಪ್ಪತ್ತು ಒಂದು ಕಯ ಅಸ್ಥಳ  
ದಲು ಕೆಲಿಗರ ಮನೆ ಒಂ
೧೩. ದು ಹೇರು ವೆತ್ತು ಮೂವತ್ತಂ ನಂದಾದೀವಿಗೆ ಶ್ರೀ ಗನ್ನಲುಪಹಾರಕೆ ಶ್ರೀ  
ಮಲ್ಲಿನಾಥ ದೇವರಿಗೆ

೧೪. ಸಂಣ್ಣ ಮಹಾದೇವ ನಾಯಕರು ಬನವನಿ ಪನ್ನಿರಾಸಿರವಂನಾಳ್ ಕಾಲ  
ದಲು ದೇವರ
೧೫. ಶ್ರೀ ಕಾರ್ಯಕ್ಕೆ ಸುಂಕಮಂ ಬಿಟ್ಟು ಸದ್ವಿನಮೃತ್ಯುವಾಯವಾಗಿ ಧಾರಾ  
ಪೂರ್ವಕಂ ಮಾಡಿ
೧೬. ಕೊಟ್ಟಿರು ಇಸ್ಕಳದ.....ವ ಬಣಂಜಿಗರು ತಾಣವಾಗ ಪಣುಂದಂ  
ಕೊಡುವರು.....ದಗೆ.....
೧೭. ನಂಗ.....ನಹವಿಗೆ ಬೆಳೆ ಬತ್ತದ ಹೇರಿಂ.....ಸವಲೆಯ ಹೇರಿಗೆ  
ಬೆಳೆ ಎಲೆಯ ಹೊ
೧೮. ರಿಗೆ ಮಾಡೆ ಗಾಣಗಾಣ ಪ್ರತಿಯಂ ಸಾಟಿಗೆ.....ನಖರಮು  
ಮುರಿದಂಡಂಗರುಂ
೧೯. ....ದ ಸಂ....ಲಿಗಿ(?)....ಮುಖ್ಯವಾಗಿ ಸಾವಿರ ಪರಿವಾರಂ ಯೊಧ  
ಮೃಗಮಂ ಪಾಲಿಸುವರು
೨೦. ಇ...ನಿರ.....ರಿಯ ಘಳೆಯ ಮತ್ತರು || ದಾನಪಾಲನಯೋರ್ವ  
ಧ್ಯೇದಾ
೨೧. ನಾತ್ಯೇಯೋನು ಪಾಲನಂ | ದಾನಾತ್ ಸ್ವರ್ಗಮವಾಪ್ನೋತಿ ಪಾಲನಾ  
ದಚ್ಯುತಂ ಪದಂ ||

### Translation

1. A bow to Śambhu who is adorned with a Chāmara in the form of the moon that kisses his lofty head, and who is the prime-pillar at the building of the City of the three worlds.

2-4. Ariyamalla became the prime minister of the reigning emperor Siṅghaṇarāya who was a moon to the ocean of the family of the Yādavas, and who was the enemy to the family of Kādambas.

4-6. That pre-eminent Malla, the store of purity and the meritorious person, was born of Ariya Bamma just as Kṛishṇa was born in the Yadu family.

6-8. Worshipful Honna-Bamma, the master of morals, Bhūdam, Khyātivīdam and Achalayya were sons born to him and his wife Rājave.

8-9. Of them Honna-Bamma, professing himself to be the best among the devotees of God Śiva was, with the favour of . . . . Mallinātha, giving munificent donations to poets, disputants, eloquent speakers and versifiers.

10-13. Who on the face of this earth will equal in splendour Honna-Bamma, who possesses in him something more than the worth of the title of the emperor of Konkana, who is the great prince merchant, the champion elephant, who takes delight in giving alms, who is the very bee at the lotus of the feet of Śaṅkara, who bears fraternal relations with other and who is always free from every sort of doubts.

13-16. His minister the famous Alavayya spares the enemy that seeks his protection with a fear on the battle-field ; torments the others who do not yield ; pursuing enslaves them and thus defeats the army of his enemies on the face of the earth . . . .

17. The prowess of his . . . . Gubbiya Kala may thus be depicted :

17-19. This famous Gubbiya Kala diligent in attending to religious observances was born of Mālave, awe-inspiring on account of her virtues and morality, delicate in her body and looking to the welfare of beings.

19-20. He being such, while doing his duty as a tax-collector requested Mūrujāvidēva in connection with his gifts. The prowess of this sage may be painted thus :—

20-22. People are eulogising Mūrijāvi-dēva as a man free from sin, as a devotee of Śambhu, as a conqueror of anger, as a man well-versed in all the lores and as a man endowed with the powers of curse and favour.

22-25. Hail ! Let great auspiciousness attend on the gift of eleven (in figures) 11 . . . . Su granted by Gubbiya Kallaya with the usual libation of water having washed the feet of . . . . Mūrujāvidēva to maintain everlasting lamp and sandal (with) incantations to Kadambēśvara on Śamkramaṇa day falling on the day of the lunar eclipse on the 15th day of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha in Viḷambi Samvachhara the 1161st year of the Śāka era.

26. The southern piece of land granted with the libation of water to God Kadambēśvara . . . .

(The lower portion of the inscription on the same pillar)

1. 40 Ka (Kambain=area) of land from his own enjoyment gift below the Barbers' tank (to) Kadambēśvara . . . .

2-4. Hail ! On Sunday the day of the solar eclipse the new moon day of the month of Fālguna Hemaḷambi Samvastsara, the famous finance minister washed the feet of Mūrujāvidēva, granted with the libation of water to God Mallinātha of Agniyamaṭha (Matha=School).

5-11. Two mattars to God Mallinātha ; four mattars to the west of the trunk-road to Siddhagiri and to the north of the three tamarind trees ; one mattar at the north-west angle of Hosagere and to the east of Mogganahalla ; one mattara to the north of basadi (Jain temple) land, to the south of the trunk road leading to the temple and the pond of Kadambēśvara and to the north of land reserved for day feasts ; and two matters and forty Kambas to the south of the land of Magari, to the east of Brahmapuri-land, and to the west of the trunk road leading to Magari.

12-13. The *School-house* of God Mallikārjuna twenty-one cubits in that very place *oilman's house* one, and *loading bullocks* thirty.

13-16. When Saṇṇa-Mahādeva-nāyaka was ruling Banavāsi 12,000, he with the libation of water and with all obeisance granted to God Siva free (from all taxation) an everlasting lamp, sandal for the auspicious worship and food of the said God.

17-19 . . . . .

20-21. Of the two, gift and protection, the latter is superior to the former. Heaven is attained from gift, but from protection is attained the eternal position.

No. 21

### Kadaroli Inscription of Guhalla-dēva III

The inscription is embedded in a wall at Kadaroli, Belgaum District. Deciphered and translated by Prof. K. G. Kundangar.

#### Text

೧. ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಸ್ತಭುವನಾತ್ರಯ ಶ್ರೀಕೃ (೩)
೨. ವಲ್ಲಭಂ ನುಹಾರಾಜಾಧಿರಾಜ ಪರಮೇಶ್ವ
೩. ರಂ ಪರಮ ಭಟ್ಟರಕಂ ಸತ್ಯಾತ್ರಯಕುಳತಿ (೪)
೪. ಕಂ ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯಾಭರಣ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ತಿಭುವನ ಮ
೫. ಲ್ಲ ದೇವರ ವಿಜಯರಾಜ್ಯಮುತ್ರರೋತ್ತರ
೬. ಪ್ರವೃದ್ಧಮಾನಮಾಚಂದ್ರಾರ್ಕತಾರಂಬರಂ ಸ
೭. ಲ್ಲುತ್ತಮಿರಚೈತನ್ಯಪಾದಪದ್ಮೋಪಜೀವಿಗಳ
೮. ಸ್ವ.... ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮದಿಗತ ಪಂಚಮಹಾನುಷ್ಣಕೇಶ್ವರಂ

೯. ಬಸವಾಸಿ ಪುರವರಾಧೀಶ್ವರ ಸಮಸ್ತ ರಾಜ್ಯ ತಳ  
 ೧೦. ರಾಜತರಪ್ಪ ಶ್ರೀ ಮನುಮಹಾಮುಣ್ಣಿ (ಶೈ)  
 ೧೧. ರ ಗೊವಲದೇವಪ್ಪಲಾಸಿಕೆ ಪನ್ನಿಭಾಸಿರಮಂ  
 ೧೨. ನಿಜರಾಜಧಾನಿಯ ನೆಲೆವಿಡಿನಲು ಸುಖಸಂಕಥಾ  
 ೧೩. ವಿನೋದದಿಂ ರಾಜ್ಯಂಗಿಯ್ಯಯ್ಯಾಳ್ಪುತರಲು ತತ್ಪಾ  
 ೧೪. ವಪದೊಪಜವಿಗಳಪ್ಪ ಸ್ಪಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಧಿಗತ ಪಂಚಮ  
 ೧೫. ಹಾಶಬ್ಬ ಮಹಾಮುಣ್ಣಿಶೈಶ್ವರಂ ಗೊಪಕಾಖ್ಯಪುರವರಾ  
 ೧೬. ಧಿಶ್ವರಂ ಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿಗುಹ.....ಮುಣ್ಣಿಳಾಧಿನಾಯಕಂ  
 ೧೭. ....ಗವಾರ್ತಾಣ್ಣ ಪದ್ಮಾವತಿಲಬ್ಧವರಪ್ರಸಾದಂ ಕುವ  
 ೧೮. ....ರ ....ಮಾ ....ದಿಕ್ಷಿತರಪ್ಪ ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ಮಹಾಮುಣ್ಣಿಶೈಶ್ವರ  
 ೧೯. ....ತೆ ....ರಿ ದೇವರ ವಿಜಯರಾಜ್ಯಮುತ್ತುರೋತ್ತರಾ  
 ೨೦. (ಫಿ)ವೃದ್ಧಿಪ್ರವರ್ಧಮಾನಮಾಚಂದ್ರಾರ್ಕತಾರಂಬರಂ ಕಾದರವಳ್ಳಿ  
 ೨೧. ....ತೆ ....ಯ ....ರೋ..... ಶ್ರೀಮಚ್ಚಾಲು  
 ೨೨. ....ವಿಕ್ರಮಕಾಲದ ಅನೇಯ ಬಹುಧಾನ್ಯ ಸಂವತ್ಸರದಲಾ ಫಾಲ  
 ೨೩. ....ಬಹುಳ ಶ್ರೀ .....ಕಾದರವಳ್ಳಿಯ ತ.....ಇಂತಯ್ಯ  
 ೨೪. ದಿ ರಾಮೇಶ್ವರ ದೇವರ ..... ದಿವಿಗೆಯ ..... ಕೊಟ್ಟಿ ..... ಗದ್ದೆ  
 ೨೫. ಯ.....ವು.....ಗ್ರಾಮದರಿಕೆ.....ದವ .....ಪಂ ಶನ  
 ೨೬. —೨ ನನ ಮರ.....ಪ್ರ.....ಯಲಂ ಪ್ರತಿಪಾಲಿಸಿ ನಡಸುವರು ||  
 ೨೭. ....  
 ೨೮. ....

### Translation

1-7. Hail! While the victorious reign of glorious Tribhuvanamalla—the asylum of all the worlds, the lord of the earth, the great king of kings, the supreme lord, the most worshipful one, the glory of the line of Satyāśraya, the ornament of the Chālukyas—was flourishing with perpetual increase so as to endure as long as the moon, the sun and the stars might last.

7-13. Hail! While the glorious Mahā-maṇḍalēśvara, the dependent on his lotus feet Govaladēva, —who had attained pañca mahāśabḍa, who was a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, who was the great lord of the best of cities Banavāsi, who was glorious on the surface of all the kingdoms, was ruling in his capital Palāsiḱe 12,000 with the recreation of pleasing conversation.

14-21. Hail ! While the victorious reign of the glorious Mahāmaṇḍa-  
lēsvara, the dependent on his lotus feet . . . . deva—who had  
attained pañcha-mahā-śabda, who was Māhamanḍalēsvara, the great  
lord of the best of cities by name Gōpaka, the head of the circle  
of tributaries of the emperor Guha (la-dēva). . . . who had  
obtained the favour of a boon from Pādmavati . . . . was flourishing  
at Kādaravalli with perpetual increase so as to endure as long as the moon,  
the sun and the stars might last.

21-25. (Hail !) On . . . . of the dark half of Fāl(guna) of  
Bahudhānya Samvatsara, the 23rd year of the glorious Chālukya Vikrama  
era was granted at the hands of . . . . of Kādaravalli a piece of  
paddy land . . . .

26. The grant will be maintained by . . . .

No. 22

### Orlim Inscription of the time of Jayakēśi II

The inscription is on a panel of the time of Jayakēśi II found at Orlim,  
Salsette, Goa, by Rev. H. Heras, S. J.; now in the Museum of the  
Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.  
Deciphered and translated by Prof. K. G. Kundangar.

#### Text

೧. ಕಾಜಿ ಸಂವತ್ಸರ ೩೬ ವರ್ಷಮಂ ಜಯಕೇಶಿ
೨. .... ಸರ್ವೈ .... ಹಟಹಳಂ ಸುಂಕದ ವೊಬೊಗೆ
೩. ಹಂದಿ .... ಜಯ ಕಾದಿ ಸತ್ತ: ವುಭಯ ಬಳ.... ವುಳ

#### Translation

In (Vi)kāri Samvatsara, the 36th year of the reign of Jayakēśi, Haṭihala  
fought and died attaining success for toll.

No. 23

### Prince of Wales' Museum Inscription of Jayakēśi III

The inscription is in the Gallery of Inscriptions of the Prince of Wales'  
Museum of Western India, Bombay. The place of origin is not known.  
Deciphered and translated by Mr. B. C. S. Sharma.

Text

೧. ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ನಮಸ್ತುಂಗ ಸಿರಶ್ಚುಂ(ಗ)ಬ ಚಂದ್ರ ಚಂಮರ ಚಾ(ರ)ವೆ  
ತ್ರಯೇಳೊಕ್ಕನಗರಾರಂಭಂ ಮೂಲಸ್ತಂಭಾಯಸಂಭವೆ ||
೨. ನಿತ್ಯಸ್ತುತಂತ್ರ ಸದ್ರಿಶೋಃ ಪ್ರಯೋ ಲೋ (?) ಜ್ಞಾನಾರ್ಣವ ಕಾರ  
ಣಾಂ....ಯ ಮಂತ್ರಾಕ್ಷರಾಣಾಂ
೩. ಲೋಪಿ (?) ಜೇತಸ್ವರೂಪಂ ಸದಾಶಿವಂ ತಂ ಪ್ರಣಮಾಮಿ ಮೂರ್ಧ್ನಿನಿ ||  
ಶಿವಾಯ ನಮಃ ||
೪. ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಸ್ತ ಭುವನಾಶ್ರಯ ಶ್ರೀ ಪ್ರಥೀವಲ್ಲಭಂ ಮಹಾರಾಜಾಧಿ  
ರಾಜಂ ಪರಮೇಶ್ವರಂ ಪರಮ ಭಟ್ಟಾರಕಂ
೫. ಸತ್ಯಾಶ್ರಯ ಕುಳತಿಳಕಂ ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯಾರ್ಜುನನುಂ ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯಕಂಠೀ  
ರವನುಂ ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯಾರ್ಭ(ರ)ಣನುಂ
೬. ಸೋಮವನ(?) ಮುಖತಿಳಕನುಂ ಶ್ರೀ....ಜತ್ರಿಭುವನಮಲ್ಲ ದೇವರ  
ವಿಜಯರಾಜ್ಯಂ ಮುತ್ತುರೋ
೭. ಭಿವ್ಯದ್ಧಿ ಪ್ರವರಿದ್ಯಮಾನಮಾಚಂದ್ರಕ ತಾರಂಬರಂ ಸುಖಸಂಕಥಾ  
ವಿನೋ(ವ)ದದಿಂ ರಾಜ್ಯಂಗೈ
೮. ಯುತ್ತುಮಿರೆ || ತತಪಾದ ಪದ್ಮೋಪಜೀವಿ || ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಾಧಿಗತ ಪಂಚಮ  
ಹಾರಬ್ಧ ಮಹಾನುಂಡಳೇಶ್ವರಂ ಬಸವಾಸಿ ಪು
೯. ರವರಾಧೀಶ್ವರಂ ಶ್ರೀ ಕಾದಂಬ ಭುಜಬಲ ವೀರಜಯಕೇಶಿ ದೇವರಸ  
ರು ಕೊಂಕಣ ಒಂಭೆನೂರುವಂ ದುಷ್ಟನಿಗ್ರಹ ಶಿಷ್ಯ
೧೦. ಪ್ರತಿಪಾಳನದಿಂ ಹಲಸಿಗೆ ಹನ್ನಿಚ್ಚಾಸಿರಸಹಿತವಾಲ್ವರಸುಗೈಯುತ್ತುಂ  
ಗೊವೆಯ ನೆಲೆವೀಡಿನೊಳು ಸುಖ
೧೧. ಸಂಕಥಾ ವಿನೋದದಿಂ ರಾಜ್ಯಂ ಗೈಯುತ್ತುಮಿರೆ || ಶ್ರೀ ರಾಮೋರು  
ಕುಚದ್ವಯಸ್ತುಗಿತ ಚಂಚತ್ಕುಂಕಮೋಽಭ್ಯುಷ್ಪಸ
೧೨. ಪ್ರೇಮಾಳಂ(ಕ್ರಿ)ತ ವಕ್ಷ (?) ಕ್ಷಯಸುಖಂ ಕ್ಷೇರಾಬ್ಧಿ ಮಧ್ಯೋದಕಸೋ  
ಮಾರೇಶ ಸುಸಿಕರಾಕ್ಷತಲಸತ್ ಶ್ರೀಮಸ್ತುತಂ
೧೩. ಕೇಶವಂ ಭೂಮಿಶಂ ಜಯಕೇಶಿದೇವಂಗೀಗಿಷ್ಯ ಸಂಸಿದ್ಧಿಯ || ಶ್ರೀಕಾ  
ದಂಬ ಕುಲಾಬ್ಧಿ ಚಂದ್ರ
೧೪. ನಮಳಚ್ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯ ದೊಹಿತ್ರಜಂ ಲೋಕ ಬ್ಯಾಪಿ (ತ) ಕೀರ್ತಿಕಾಂತನಹಿತ  
ಕಪ್ಪಿಸಾಳ ಸಾಮ್ರಾಜ್ಯ ಶ್ರೀ ಸ್ವೀಕಾರಂ ಶ
೧೫. ರಣಾಗ (ಗ) ತಾರ್ಕ್ತಿ ಜನತಾಸಂತಾನಮನ್ವಾದಿ ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಕಾಂಕ್ಷಾಶಿಫು  
ಚರಿತ್ರನೆಂಬುದು ಜಗಂ ಜೇಕೇಶಿಭೂ

೧೬. ಪಾಲನ || ಪ.....ದ....ರ್ಥ ಪ್ರಕ.....ಕ್ಕೆ ಕಲ್ಪಕುಜ (?) ವಾಮಾ  
....ಸ್ತವಂ ಬಂದ....ಹರಿ ರಾಜಂ ಶರಣಂದವಂಗಳಭಯದಿಂದ
೧೭. ಕಾವಂ ಮಹೀಪಾಳಭಾಸುರತೇಜಂ ಜಯಕೇಶಿದೇವನೈನಿಪಂ ಭೂಲೋ  
ಕದೊಳು ವರ್ಣ್ಯನೀಶ್ವರ ಪಾದಾಂಬುಜಪ್ರಂಗನಿಗಳೆ(?) ಸೇವಂ ಕಾ
೧೮. ದಂ ಕಾದಂಬ ಭೂಪಾಲಕಂ || ವರಗಂಗಾಜಳ ಚಂದ್ರ ಚೂಡನಗಜಾ  
ದ್ವಾರಂಗಸ್ತುಜತ್ವಾಲನೋತ್ತರ ರೂಪಂ ಶಿವನೀಶನಾದ್ಯನಭವಂ
೧೯. ಶ್ರೀ ಸಪ್ತಕೋಟೀಶನಂ ಸ್ತೀರವಾರಾಧಿಸಿ ನೀಚ್ಛನೀಚ್ಛವರವಂ ಜೇಕೇಶಿ  
ಭೂಪಾಳನಾದರದಿ ಕೈಕೊಳುತಿಪ್ಪನೆಂಬುದು ಜಗಂ ಮಾಹೇ
೨೦. ಶ್ವರೋರ್ವೀಶ್ವನ || ಇಂತು ಪೊಗತ್ತೆವಡೆದ ಜೇಕೇಶಿದೇವನಾಳ್ವ ಹಲ  
ಸಿಗೆನಾಡಬಾಪ್ಪವರ್ಣನಮೆಂತೆಂದಿದೆ || ಪ್ರಿತ್ತಗಡಾ ||
೨೧. ಹಲಸಿಗೆ ನಾಡು ನಾಡೆ ಸೊಗಯಿಪ್ಪುದು ಭೂವಳಯಕೆ ಶೋಭೆಯಂ ತಳೆದೆ  
ಲೆವಳ್ಳ ಪೂಗಿ ಫಳ ಮಾಮರಕೋಮಳ ಮಾತುಳಂಗ ವಾ
೨೨. ಜಳರುಹ ಶಂಡ ಮಂಡಿತ ತಟಾಕ ಸುನಿರ್ದುರ ವಾರಿ ಧಾರೆಯಿಂ ಪುಳನ  
ಮೆನಿಪ್ಪುದೂರ್ಗ್ಗಳ ಬಹಿರ್ವನವಾಸವನಂದನಾಸ್ತದ ||
೨೩. ನಗರಗ್ರಾಮಸುಖೇಡಬರ್ವಡ ಮಹಾಮಾನ್ಯಾಗ್ರಹಾರಂಗಳಿಂ ಬಗೆದಲ್ಲಲ್ಲಿ  
ಸಬಾ(?)ಸುಬಾಶಿತಮೊ ಮತ್ತಾದೂರ್ಗ್ಗಳೊಳು ರಾಗದಿಂ ನಗು
೨೪. ವಾಳೋಕಪ ಹಾಡುವಾಡುವನರಿಂ ತ್ರಿಂಗಾರವಾರಾಂಗನೋಜ್ಜುಗದಿಂದಿ  
ಪ್ಪುದು ಸಾವರ್ವಕಾಲವದರಿಂ ರೈಯಂ ತದುಮ್ಮೇತಳ ||
೨೫. ತಿಳಗೊಳನೊಂದನೊಂದಿ ಪರಿಯುತ್ತಿರಲಾ ಪರಿನೀರನುಂಡು ಕತ್ತಲಿಪೆಲೆ  
ವಳ್ಳ ಪೂಗಿಫಳ ಬಾಳೆರಸೋತ್ಪರ ವೀಳೆ ತೆಂಗು ಮಾದುಫಳಂ ಕರಿಯಿಕ್ಕು
೨೬. ದಂಡಕಳದೊತ್ಪರ ಭಾರದಿನೊಪ್ಪಿ ತೋರುತಂ ಬೆಳೆದು ತದುಮ್ಮೇ ತಜ್ಜ  
ನಕೆ ಮಾಡೆ ಬಸಂತಮನಾವಕಾಲಮೂ || ಇಂತೀನೆಗತ್ತೆಗಂ
೨೭. ಪೊಗತ್ತೆಗಂ ನೆಲೆಯಾಗಿದ್ದ ಹಲಸಿಗೆನಾಡೊಳಗೆ ಎಲೆಯ ಹುಬ್ಬಳ್ಳಿಯ  
ಬಾಪ್ಪವರ್ಣನಮೆಂತೆಂದಿದೆ || ಸಸಿವರನೊಂದು ತೋಂ
೨೮. ಟದೊಳು ಪೂಗಿಫಳಂಗಳ ಭಾರದಿಂದ ಒಂದೆಸೆಗೊರಗಿದ್ದೊಂದಿದೆ  
ಯೊಳೊಂದೆಡೆಯೊಳು ತುರುಗಿದ್ದೊಂದೆಪರಿಂ ಸಸಿನಮೆನಿಪ್ಪುದೊಂ
೨೯. (ದೆ)ಡೆಯೊಳೊಂದೆಡೆಯೊಳು ಕೊನೆಕೆಂಪನಾಗಿ ನಾಲುದೆಸೆಗೆಸೆದಿಪ್ಪು  
ದೊಂದೆಡೆಯೊಳೊಂದೆ ಹಾಲುಗೊನೆಯಿಂದಲೊಪ್ಪಂ
೩೦. ಗೂ (?) || ಒಲೆದೆಲೆವಳ್ಳಯಾಮರದಿನಾಮರಕೊಯ್ಯನೆ ಕಯ್ಯ ನೀಡಿ  
ಕತ್ತಲಿಸೆ ತದಂಥಕಾರದೊಳಗಾವರನೊಯ್ಯನೆ ಸೊಂಕೆ ಸೊಂ

೨೧. ಕೆ ಮತ್ತಲೆವನರಿಲ ನಾಯುವಶದಿಂದುಲಿಹಾಗಿರೆ ತೋಂಟಕಾರ ಬಂದೆಲೆ  
ಯನೆ ಕೊಯಿದು ಜರೆವನುಗಾಗಳೆ ಮೂಪ್ಪದ ನೈ
೨೨. ದೆ ಮಾಡುವ || ಎರೆಹಾಳು ಹರಳು ತೋಂಟದ ಬರಿಯೊಳು ಕಾಲುವೆಯ  
ನುಂಬಗಡ್ಡೆಗಳಿಂದಂ ಪಿರಿದೆಲೆಯ ಪುರ್ವ್ವಳಿಯ
೨೩. ಧರೆಯೆಲ್ಲಂ ಬೆಳಸುಕಳಸವಿಟ್ಟಂತಿಕುಂ || ವರಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಾತ್ಮಂ ವಿಶಾರದ  
ಸ್ವಕಳ ವೇದಾನೀಕ ಸಂಪನ್ನರುತ್ತರ ತರ್ಕಪ್ರಮೇಯ ಪ್ರಮಾ
೨೪. ಣರೆರೆದಗ್ಗಾನಂದದಿಂದೀವೊಡಂ ಸುರಭೂಜೋಪಮರ್ಗಲಂತೆಲೆಯ ಪು  
ರ್ವಳಿ ದ್ವಿಜಶ್ರೇಷ್ಠರಂ ಪಿರಿದಿನ್ನೂರ್ವರ ನಾಗಳುಂ ಪೊ
೨೫. ಗಳುಗುಂ ಭೂಲೋಕ ವಿದ್ವಜ್ಜನಾ || ಸ್ಪಸ್ತಿ ಯಮನಿಯಮ ಸ್ವಾಧ್ಯಾಯ  
ಧ್ಯಾನ ಧಾ....ಸಾವನ....ನಾನುಷ್ಠಾನಪರಾಯಣರ್ವಿ
೨೬. ದಿತವೇದಾತ್ಮಕ ವಿದ್ಯಾಪಾರಗರ್ವಟ್ಟುಮರ್ಗನಿರತರುಂ ಸಪ್ತಸೋಮ  
ಸಂಸ್ಥಾ (?) ವ ಭೃತಾವಗಾಹನ ಪವಿತ್ರೀಕೃ
೨೭. ತ ಶರೀರರುಂ ದ್ವಾತ್ರಿಂಶತ್ಸಮೆಯಾಗ್ರಗಂ(ಣ್ಣ)ರುಂ ಏಕವಾಕ್ಯರುಂ  
ದುಷ್ಟನಿಗ್ರಹ ಶಿಷ್ಯಪರಿಪಾಳನರುಂ
೨೮. ಶ್ರೀಮೂರ್ತಿ ನಾರಾಯಣ ದೇವರ ಲಬ್ಧವರಪ್ರಸಾದಾಸಾದಿತರುಮಪ್ಪ  
ಶ್ರೀಮದನಾದಿಯಗ್ರಹಾರಂ ಎ
೨೯. ಲೆಯ ಪೂರ್ವದವಳ್ಳಿಯೂರೊಡೆಯ ಪ್ರಮುಖಮಹಾಜನಂಗಳನ್ನೂ  
ವರ್ವರುಂ ಸವಿಶಾಣದಲು ಮಹಾಸಭಿಯಾಗಿದ್ದು ಚೌಗಾಂವೆಯ
- ೩೦.. ನವಿಲೂರ ಕುರುಂಬ ಸೆಣೆಗರು ರೊ (?) ಖ್ಯವಾಸಮೆಯ ಸರೊಹಂ  
ಗಳ ಕೈಯಲು ಅಪ್ಪಣೆಯಂ ಕೊಂಡು ಆ ಸೆಣೆಗೆಗೇತ್ತರ ದೇವರ ಆಗ  
ಭೋಗ ರಂಗಭೋಗ
೩೧. ಕೈ ಚೈತ್ರಪವಿತ್ರಕ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಕ್ರಮಮೆಂತೆಂದಡೆ || ಸ್ಪಸ್ತಿ ಕಲಿಯುಗ ಸಂವ  
ತ್ಸರಂ ೪೨೮೮ ಸಂದಂದಾದಿಯಾಗಿ ಶ್ರೀಕಾದಂಬಳುಜಬಳ
೩೨. ವಿಜಯಕೇಶಿದೇವ ವರ್ಕದ ಗುನೆಯ ಕಾಳಯುಕ್ತ ಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಪುಷ್ಯ ಬ  
ಗಿ ಆದಿತ್ಯವಾರ ಉತ್ತರಾಯಣ ಸಂಕ್ರಮಣ
೩೩. ದಂದು ಶ್ರೀಮದೇಶ ಮಹಾಜನಂಗಳು ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಕೆಯ್ಯಕ್ಕಳ ಉಣುಕೆಲ್ಲ  
ದಾರಿಯ ಪಡುವಲು ಬ್ರಹ್ಮಾರ್ಗ ಪುರಿಯ ಕೆಯಿಂತೆಂಕಲು
೩೪. ಸರ್ವನಮಕ್ಕ ಸರ್ವ ಬಾಧಾಪರಿಹಾರವಾಗಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಮತ್ತರೆಂಟು ದೇವರ  
ಪೌಳಿಯಿಪ್ಪತ್ತಾರು ಕೈಯ ನೀಳಿಯಿಪ್ಪತ್ತೊಂದು ಕೈಯ ಅಗಲ  
ದೊಳಗೆ
೩೫. ಮಲಮನೆಯಾಗಿ ಮಾಡಿದಡಂ ಸರ್ವ ಬಾಧೆಪರಿಹಾರವಾಗಿ ಮಹಾಜ  
ನಂಗಳು ಕೊಟ್ಟರು || ಆ ಕುರಿಬಸೆಣೆಗೆ ಕುಲವರ್ಣನಮನೆಂ

೪೬. ದಡೆ || ಕುರುಬತಗಿ ಪಂಚಪುಟ್ಟಿಗವರಿತೆಯೊಳೆಂ ಪುಟ್ಟಿ ಕುರಿಬಸೆಣೆಗರೆಂಬಿ  
ತೆರನಕುಲವಾಗಿ ಲೋಕದ ನೆರೆ ಮಾಮಾತ್ಮರರೆನ್ನಿಪ್ಪ ಹೆಸರಂ ಪಡೆದ
೪೭. ರೂ || ಜಗದೊಳಗೆಲ್ಲಿಯುಂ ಕುರಿಬಸೆಣೆಗರೆಂಬ ಕುಲೋತ್ತಮಸ್ವದಾ  
ಬಗೆಯುದು ಧರ್ಮಜೀರ್ಣ್ಣ ಶಿವಗೇಹದ ಮಾಟ ಸಮಸ್ತ ವಿಸ್ತರಂ  
ಮಗಿ
೪೮. ಲೆನೆ ಕೀರ್ತ್ತಿಯಂ ಪಡೆಯುತ್ತಂ ಶಿವಧರ್ಮಮನಾವಕಾಲಮುಂ ಬಗೆ  
ಗೊಳುತಿಪ್ಪರೆಂದು ಪರತರ್ಪಮೆಯಾದಿಗಳೆಯ್ವ ಕೀರ್ತ್ತಿಪರೂ || ಅಂ  
ತು ಕೀರ್ತ್ತಿಸಿ ||
೪೯. ಮಿಗೆ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯ ಸಮಸ್ತ ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರ ವಿಷಯಬ್ಯಾಪಾರದೊಳು ಪೇಳ್ವಡೇಂ ಬ್ರಿಗು  
ಮಿಂದತ್ಯುಧಿಕ್ಷುಳಾಸುರಿಗೆ ವಿಶ್ವಾಣಗಳೊಳು ವೀರದೊಳು ಹಗೆಸಿಂ
೫೦. ಹಕ್ಕಿದಿರಾಗಿ ತಾಗಿ ಕೊಲ್ಲುರ್ವಾಪ(ಂ)ನ(ನ)ವಿಲಾನ್ವಯಮಿಗಿಲಿಂತೊಪ್ಪೆ  
ಕುರಿಬಸೆಣೆಗರಿದೇಂ ಲೋಕಕ್ಕೆ ವಿಪ್ರಾತರೂ || ಅಂತೆನ್ನಿಸಿ ||
೫೧. ಕಂದ || ನವಿಲೂರು ಕುರಿಬಸೆಣೆಗರವರೆಲಂ ಮುಖ್ಯವಾಗಿ ಜೌಗಾಂವೆಯ  
ವರ್ತವತವಗೆ ಬಂದುದಂ ಮೋರ್....ವದಿಂದೀಕೆಯ್ಯ
೫೨. ಹಡೆದು ದೇವಗ್ನಿತ್ತರೂ || ದೀನಾನಾಥರು ಬಾಪ್ಪಿನೆಕಾನಿನನ ತೆರದೆ  
ಕುಡುವರಹಿತವ್ವರಲಭಿಮಾನಮನೆ ಸೂರೆಗೊಂಬಮ್ಮಾನಿಸ ನವಿ  
ಲೂ (ರ)
೫೩. (ಕು)ರಿಬಸೆಣೆಗನಿವಹ || ಈ ಧರ್ಮಮನಾದರ ನಿರ್ವೋಧಿಗಳಿಂ ಕಾದ  
ವರ್ಗ್ಗೆ ಸುಖಸಂಪದ ಸೂಸಾಧಿತಮೆನಿಕುವಳಿಸನಿಗೊ
೫೪. ....ನರಕಾಬ್ಬಿಯೊಳಗೆ ಗಳಗಳನಿಳಿಸರೂ || ಸ್ವದತ್ತಂ ಪರದತ್ತಂ  
ನಾಯೋಹರೇತಿ ವಸುಂಧರಾ || ಪಜ್ಜಿವರ್ಶ್ಯ ಸಹಸ್ರಾಣಿ ವಿಷ್ವಾಯಾಂ  
ಜಾಯೆತೇ ಕ್ರಿಮಿ ||

### Translation

Lines 1-3. Well, salutation to that Śambhu who is beautiful on account of the fan-like moon kissing the head aloft; to the pillar of commencement of the city of the Trilōkas. I salute God Sadāśiva who is ever free, who is the very essence of those hymns and letters which are the ocean of learning. A bow to Śiva.

Lines 4-7. While Tribhuvanamallā Chālukya (with the usual titles) was ruling the kingdom of the world, his dependent,

Lines 8-11. Vira Jayakēśi-dēva, the strong arm of the Kadambas, the lord of the city of Banavāsi, the obtainer of the five great musical instruments, the great maṇḍalēśvara, was ruling in happiness from his capital Goa, the koṅkaṇa district 900 and Halasige 12,000, putting down the wicked and protecting the virtuous.

Lines 11-13. May God Kēśava who is immensely happy on account of having Lakshmi by his side and . . . . grant all the wishes of king Jayakēśi.

Lines 13-15. The world calls this king Jēkēśi, a moon to the ocean the Kādamba family, the great grandson of the pure Chālukyas, and his fame known all over the world, one who has acquired the kingdom of enemy kings, with a host of needy people seeking the shelter of his generosity, and one who has in life accomplished the ideal of the sacred sciences like that of Manu.

Lines 16-18. . . . . He extends protection to him who approaches the King with the cry, "O King, protect me!" Ardently devoted to the worship of Śiva is this King of the Kādambas.

Lines 18-20. The world says of him that he constantly worships Śrī Saptakotīśvara who is the First Cause, Beginningless, who has the Daughter of the Mountain by his side, and Ganga and the moon on his head, and he obtains from Him boons both high and low.

Line 20. To describe Halasige-nāḍ which is glorious and ruled by Jēkēśi.

Lines 21-23. The whole land of Halasige sparkles, is an ornament of the entire world, and can, with its leaves and creepers, areca palms, mango trees, citron trees, ponds adorned with vast clusters of lotuses, streams and torrents, sandy banks and parks outside towns, be compared to the Nandana gardens of heaven.

Lines 23-24. That part of the earth is wealthy and beautiful for having been replete with cities and villages, hamlets and market-towns; with people in the towns always laughing and sight-seeing, singing and playing; and with beautiful and well ornamented courtesans.

Lines 25-26. A stream lost itself in the limpid waters of a pool and flowed on; feeding on its water grew, heavy with fruits and leaves hiding the sky, creepers, banana plants, betel plants, cocoanut palm, citron, sugarcane, and so on; with all these, that part of the earth had produced, for its inhabitants, perennial spring.

Line 27. To describe Eleya Purbballi in this Halasige-nāḍ which was the home of so much plenitude and prosperity.

Lines 27-29. In a garden an areca palm inclined to a side from the weight of its fruits; here others looked level (with the ground) on account of the fruits crammed on them; there, a tree had shot its tendrils out in all directions; elsewhere tender bunches of pods decked other trees.

Lines 30-32. The leafy creeper had spread from tree to tree and spread darkness underneath. Wandering in that darkness one lost his way and reached the enclosure. Hearing his cry for help, carried afar by the wind, the gardener came, cut down the leaves and in a derisive attitude led him out.

Lines 32-33. With arable land, plots of castor plants, canals on one side, and rice fields, the whole place, the great Eleya Purvadavalli looks like a crown of gold.

Lines 33-35. May the scholars the world over always praise the celebrated two hundred Brahmins of Eleya Purvalli who are well-versed in the sacred sciences, masters of the several Vedas, experts in the arguments of logic, comparable in their generosity to the celestial tree.

Lines 35-41. Well, the two hundred Mahājanas of the ancient Eleya Purvadavalli who adhere to the pious practice of self-control, discipline, etc., devoted to learning and its practical application, always occupied with the six Karmas, whose body is purified by the bath taken at the conclusion of the (?) seven Sōma sacrifices, who are the devout followers of the 32,000 conventions, men carrying out their promises, punishers of evil and protectors of the good, and who have secured the grace of Śrī Mūrti Narāyaṇa, met in conclave in Savithāṇa, sent for the Kurimba Senigas of Navilūr in Chaugaum, and with their consent made a grant to God Senigēśvara for various services (āgabhōga, raṅgabhōga, chaitrapavitra). Its details are :

Lines 41-45. On the occasion of the summer solstice on Sunday, the eleventh day of the dark fortnight of Pushya of Kālāyukti, the twelfth year of the Kādamba Vijayakēśi's reign commencing in Kaliyuga 4288, all the mahājanas granted free from imposts, a piece of land to the west of the road to Uṇukel and south of (?) Brahmārgapuri, and eight mattars, and a construction for school measuring twenty-six hands long and twenty-one hands broad, within the precincts of the temple.

To describe the tribe of these Kuriba Senigas :

Line 46. Born, in a mother who was a Kuribiti by caste, of basket makers, these Kuriba Senigas came to be known in the world by the name of Neremāmā (hē ?) śvaras.

Lines 47-48. All over the world these Kuriba Senigas of that noble race have restored Śiva temples in all their details ; they have contemplated charity and the sacred creed of Śiva always ; they have shone by the adoption of the celebrated conventions.

Lines 49-50. Why describe all this with the flourish of language and the sciences ? How famous in the world are these Kuriba Senigas of the

pure Navilūr family who kill enemies with bravery and skill and who surpass Bhṛigu ?

Line 51. All these Kuriba Seṇigas of Navilūr chiefly, and other people of Chaugaum came of their own accord and gave away to the God whatever they could give with a generous hand.

Line 52. These Kuriba Seṇigas of Navilūr are the refuge of the needy, and they rob enemies of all their pride.

Lines 53-55. To those who protect this grant will easily accrue wealth and happiness, but those who destroy it descend to hell.

Usual imprecations.

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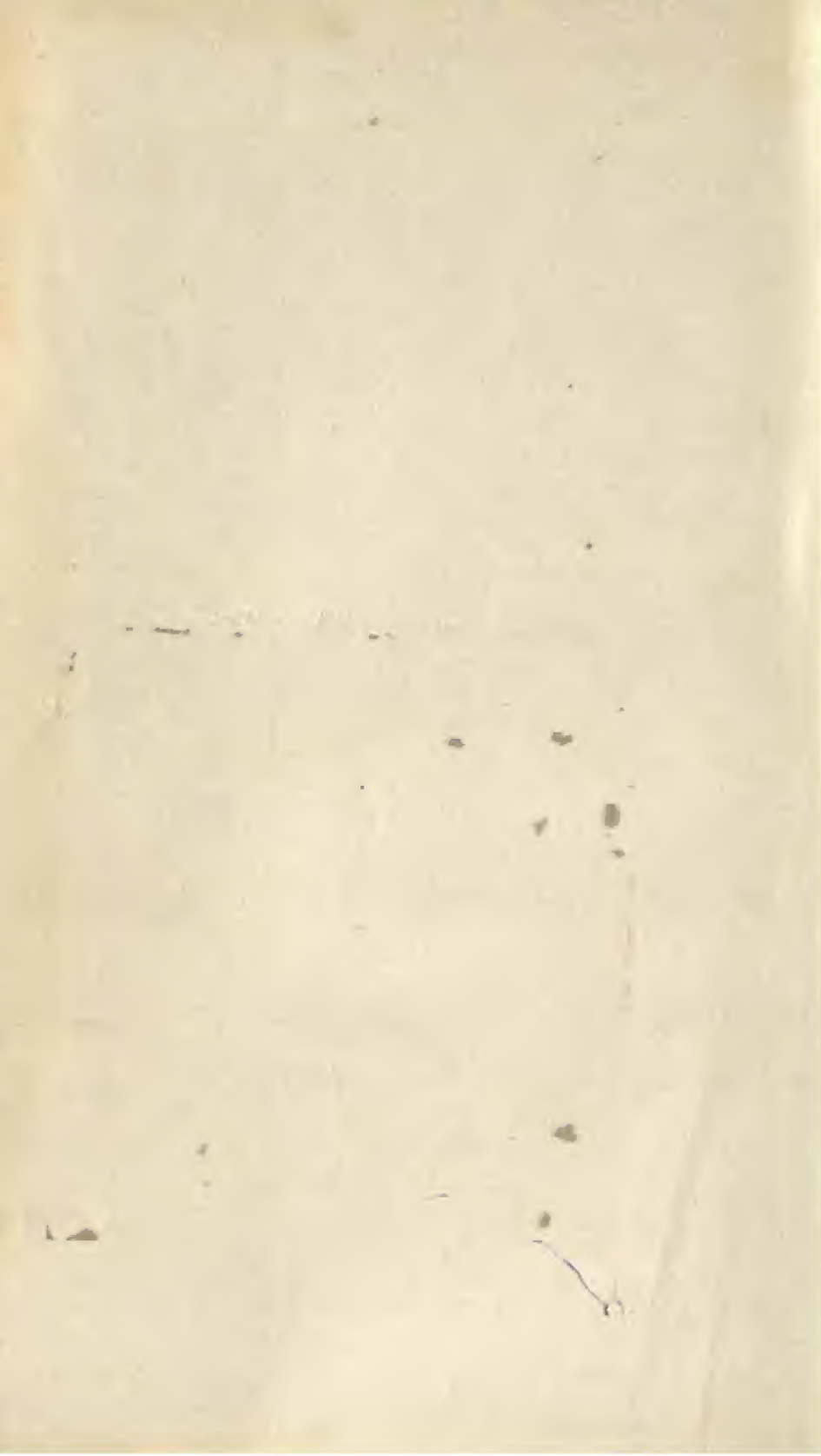
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